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THE SPANISH RÉGIME IN MISSOURI

ULLOA

THE SPANISH REGIME IN MISSOURI

A COLLECTION OF PAPERS AND DOCUMENTS RELATING TO UPPER LOUISIANA PRINCIPALLY WITHIN THE PRESENT LIMITS OF MISSOURI DURING THE DOMINION OF SPAIN, FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE INDIES AT SEVILLE, ETC., TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL SPANISH INTO ENGLISH, AND INCLUDING ALSO SOME PAPERS CONCERNING THE SUPPOSED GRANT TO COL. GEORGE MORGAN AT THE MOUTH OF THE OHIO, FOUND IN THE CONGRESSIONAL LIBRARY

EDITED AND WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,
BIOGRAPHICAL AND EXPLANATORY

By LOUIS HOUCK

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME I

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
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PREFACE

The transcripts of the documents published in this collection relating to the Spanish Régime in Upper Louisiana, principally within the present limits of Missouri, were made to aid me in the preparation of my history of Missouri. These documents are now published in order to give those who may desire to know the particular details of this interesting period of the early history of the state an opportunity to examine the same. The originals of these documents are found in the *Archivo General de Indies* in Seville, having a space in the *Lonja*, or Exchange, situated opposite the Great Cathedral of that city. In this treasure-house are found a vast number of documents relating to the history of the Americas and Indies. These documents are, however, only roughly classified, into Audiencias, or Supreme Court districts, such as the Audiencia of Santo Domingo, in which was included the Floridas and Louisiana, the Audiencia of Mexico, of Carracas, Quito, etc. Then the papers of these Audiencias are often again classified into divisions, relating to secular and ecclesiastical affairs, and these divisions into special subjects, such as "Communications from Governors," "Discoveries," etc., these being generally by years as from "1762–1772." The location of the documents is indicated by the word *Estante*, or section, *Cajon*, or shelf, and *Legajo*, or package, and these are numbered. All packages are tied up in paper, certainly not the best manner to preserve this precious and invaluable historical material, but perhaps all the limited revenues of the kingdom will permit. To the Archives of Seville after the disastrous Spanish-American war some thousands of papers and documents from Cuba were added. These papers were dumped promiscuously on the floor of the basement and were allowed to remain there for some time altogether uncared for. Many documents relating to the history of upper Louisiana and Missouri were found particularly in this heap of papers and documents and copied and are now published for the first time.

The research work for me was placed in the hands of Señor Don Jose Gonzales Verger, chief-assistant of the Archivist Señor Don

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Pedro Torres Lanzas, through the medium of Mr. James Alexander Robertson, and who having passed some time in this great storehouse of Spanish-American history, was familiar with the manner in which such work is done. Of course, the task entrusted to Señor Verger entailed a great amount of labor, necessitating the examination of many *Legajos*, or packages, document by document, and only by this method much of the historical material particularly relating to the history of Missouri was discovered, but I am satisfied by no means all that bears on the history of the state or upper Louisiana. Some of the records of Simancas were also cursorily examined for me by Señor Don Julian Paz, but only one document concerning upper Louisiana was found. No doubt a further and more careful investigation will hereafter disclose more. The Archives of Simancas, it may be incidentally observed, contain thirty million documents.

It is only just to say, that these great Collections are now thrown open to all who may wish to make historical investigations by the Spanish Government with a generosity and kindness unequalled anywhere. In the no distant future the documents filed away in these Archives, many of which were at the time surpressed by a secretive government, and for state reasons, will fully reveal to the world the unequalled labor and heroism, valor and exploits of many Spanish soldiers, commanders, navigators, discoverers and explorers, now only vaguely known and esteemed, and who will add much to the glory of much-maligned Spain.

The documents published in these volumes were translated from the Spanish into English for me by and under the direction and supervision of Mr. Robertson, and for the great interest manifested by him in this work and many valuable suggestions I here express my obligations. I, too, owe thanks for the translation of one document, No. XLIV, to Prof. Joseph Vaeth of the Southeast Missouri State Normal School. To Judge Walter B. Douglas I am indebted for much valuable biographical information regarding some of the early French-Canadian settlers. So also to Miss Idress Head, the accomplished and diligent librarian of the Missouri Historical Society.

"ELMWOOD,"
CAPE GIRARDEAU. Missouri, 1909.

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INTRODUCTION

When France in 1762 ceded Canada, and all the territory east of the Mississippi with the exception of New Orleans, to England, the scheme to found a great French empire in North America, stretching from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico, and westward to the South Sea, was definitely given up, and by another and secret treaty the vast province of Louisiana, with its vague boundaries, ceded to Spain. The work of France in North America for over two centuries was lightly abandoned, as it is far from certain that the cession of Canada was the result of absolute necessity. Many thoughtful Englishmen at that time were greatly opposed to the acquisition of Canada, foreseeing that when the English flag was hoisted permanently over Quebec the pressure on the English colonies, exercised by the French possession of Canada, would be removed, and consequently new dangers threaten English dominion in America. French statesmen even then consoled themselves with the hope that the sacrifice of Canada would prove a disaster for England. To the hapless French habitants the cession of Canada to England was a source of unalloyed woe. The overwhelming power of England was well recognized, and without a murmur the people bowed their heads to the inevitable. Those, however, who could flee from English dominion, fled across the ocean to France. From the Illinois country, east of the Mississippi, many crossed to the west side of the river, still supposed to belong to France. But when the secret treaty of Fontainebleau became known in October, 1764, the people of lower Louisiana were plunged into the deepest grief. To them it seemed incredible that France could thus indifferently abandon her children and a priceless jewel of her crown. So inconceivable did it seem to them, that when Spain delayed to take possession of the colony, the people from this circumstance were inspired with the hope that the treaty was a mere temporary and provisional expedient. Confident that they could avert the threatened change they sent a delegation across the ocean to make a remonstrance to the French government. This mission accomplished nothing and received no encouragement.

Yet the continued delay of Spain, to take possession of the province, nursed a hope among the people that the treaty would not be carried out. Finally in 1766 they were awakened from this delusion by the arrival of Don Antonio de Ulloa with two companies of Spanish infantry under command of Piernas. He was coldly but respectfully received. When requested by the French Superior Council to produce his powers, he declined to do so, on the ground that he was awaiting additional Spanish forces. This, instead of allaying discontent, increased dissatisfaction. A feeling of resistance arose among the leading men of the colony. The spirit of independence which manifested itself then in the English colonies on the Atlantic, evidently found a responsive cord among the French colonists on the Mississippi. The colossal power of Spain did not daunt or repress this spirit. As a result, after several years of uncertainty, Ulloa was ordered by the Superior Council to leave the province. The tragic fate of the men who led this movement shows the heroic mould of these pioneers of Louisiana. Under other and more favorable circumstances, their noble love for country would have been crowned with success.

During the French dominion, the government made no attempt to found settlements on the west side of the river, although several forts were established on the Missouri. A transient settlement was made as early as 1700 at the mouth of the Saline opposite Kaskaskia by salt-boilers. A small French settlement of miners existed at Old Mines, in what is now Washington county, and another at Mine La Motte. In 1762 the ancient village of Ste. Genevieve was the only organized community in what is now Missouri. St. Louis was not in existence. It was not until after the treaty that Laclede started with his boats and goods up the Mississippi to found a trading post on the west side of the river. It was then supposed that the fur trade of the Mississippi Valley could not be controlled by the English of Canada on account of the hostility of the Western Indians. Undoubtedly this led the company represented by Laclede to send him up the river to establish a trading post at an advantageous place. Maxent, Laclede's partner, was the principal merchant of lower Louisiana and high in favor with the authorities. He controlled a large capital. What more natural, therefore, than that as soon as the terms of the treaty of Paris became known, he and the other merchants of New Orleans should make an effort to divert the fur trade of the Mississippi valley to New Orleans, possessing so many advantages as an entrepôt for foreign trade. No doubt, also, the officers of Fort de Chartres appreciated this effort to save the French merchants all that could be saved out of the French-American colonial wreck. This is shown by the fact that when Fort de Chartres was abandoned these officers and the French Superior Council of the Illinois country removed to the new village founded by Laclede. That the merchants and Indian traders of Cahokia, Kaskaskia, and Prairie de Rocher also thought that they could best secure this trade by removing to the new town, accounts for the rapid growth of St. Louis in the first few years of its existence. But it soon became manifest that the French merchants of Montreal and Quebec, although living under the English government, aided by the English, would not easily give up their fur trade, and that this trade, in the future as in the past, would be largely dominated from the banks of the St. Lawrence. After this St. Louis grew only slowly.

In 1767 Ulloa sent an expedition to the mouth of the Missouri River to erect two forts there. This marks the beginning of the Spanish effort to settle upper Louisiana. In his secret instructions Ulloa says that the object of the establishment of these two forts was to prevent the English from entering the Missouri. Even then this great river was well understood to be the easy artery to the country extending to the Rocky Mountains, abounding in rich fur bearing animals. The forts were ordered to be built on each side of the river, but when the expedition arrived and the proposed location examined, it was found that it was impracticable to erect the large fort on the north side of the river, as had been ordered, because of the deep annual overflows, and by a council of war the instructions of Ulloa were varied to suit the situation, and the large fort was erected on the south side, and a temporary blockhouse on the north side. The settlement which Ulloa projected and for the government of which he made so many and salutary rules, did not prosper. The officers were soon engaged in disputes with each other. Some of the soldiers and the storekeeper deserted and finally Ulloa removed the commander, Rui. It is interesting to note, that Ulloa in his instructions did not supersede St. Ange as commandant of the Spanish Illinois country, by which name the district south of the Missouri River and west of the Mississippi was then known. It seems to have been his object to establish a new and independent district to be known as the district of the Missouri north of the

Illinois district. Rui on his return to New Orleans made a report concerning the settlements in the Illinois country, and the custom of giving presents to the Indians, a subject in which the authorities of New Orleans were interested. This report contains the earliest account of the villages of Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis, and the number and business of the inhabitants in each.

Don Pedro Piernas, who was in command of the Spanish companies when Ulloa landed, succeeded Rui as commander on the Missouri. He came to the fort in 1769. But a few days after he assumed command, he was ordered to surrender the possessions to St. Ange, who was thus officially placed by Spanish authority in command of the upper Louisiana. When Piernas came to St. Louis from the fort, on his way back to New Orleans, with a few Spanish soldiers under his command, the royal effects in his hands were attached by the order of the Superior Council of the Illinois country, who still exercised jurisdiction according to French customs in St. Louis, to pay debts which had been contracted by the Spanish absconding storekeeper for the support of the troops at the forts, supplies which had been furnished by the St. Louis merchants, a proceeding Piernas thought unusual. But the matter was finally amicably settled. Piernas also on his return made a full and detailed report, very interesting now, of the condition of the settlements in the Illinois country, but gives a rather unfavorable view of affairs. The country he says is generally "healthy and fertile, its climate delightful and suitable for all sorts of plants, fruits and grains," but he finds that "religion is given scant respect," and that "license, laxity of conduct, and vice are characteristics of its inhabitants." In addition to the habitants, he observes that the country has "wanderers from will, who serve but to increase the excess." He also complains that three of the inhabitants are associated with the like number of English in clandestine trade. "The good-for-nothing St. Ange," he states has no authority, and his orders are frustrated by several transient traders.

After Piernas returned to New Orleans, he was re-appointed by O'Reilly, lieutenant-governor "for the villages of San Luis, Santa Genevieva, and the whole district of the Misuri River, and the part of the Yllinneses" belonging to the Province of Louisiana, and this appointment was afterwards, by royal cedula, approved. When he departed from New Orleans, O'Reilly gave him instructions "to be strictly observed." Among other matters he enjoined "the greatest harmony with the English," ordered that the Indians should be treated so "as to induce them to peace and humanity towards the English," and Spanish traders were strictly prohibited from entering English territory, certainly an injunction in strong contrast with the English practice of invading all adjacent territory. Only traders of "good repute," O'Reilly says, shall be allowed to trade with the Indians, and no trading monopoly shall be conceded to any trader, but this rule afterwards was not always observed. Indians, he ordained, visiting "San Luis and Santa Genevieva shall experience good treatment" and shall be supplied at the expense "of his Majesty with bread and rice for two days." He expressly declares, by order of the King, that no "Indian slaves shall be allowed in his state, not even those of hostile tribes," a rule widely different from that observed at that time in the English colonies, where even in puritanical New England it was considered as eminently just that Indians should be held in slavery. Indians held in slavery under the French government he ordered to be liberated. Yet much is said about the inhumanity of the treatment of the native races of America by the Spaniards. The pay of Piernas as lieutenant-governor was fixed by O'Reilly at 375 pesos per annum, provided "that it is made clear that you do not enjoy any other pay from the royal treasury." But he was a captain in the army, so this liberality was rather delusive. The several statistical censuses of the population and productions of Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis, made during the administration of Piernas, are perhaps of most value to us now. In 1774 Piernas was ordered to New Orleans and here he became lieutenant-colonel of the Louisiana Regiment, and enjoyed other offices. However, before he retired the people of Ste. Genevieve and their curé, Father Hilaire, well known in lower Louisiana, where he played a conspicuous part in a religious controversy, came in conflict in regard to the tithes which Father Hilaire claimed from his Ste. Genevieve parishioners. The habitants remonstrated, and finally through Piernas the controversy reached Governor Unzaga, who in reply says, "that the Reverend Father has no right to collect tithes because the King supports him," and then he bluntly adds, that this "shall be told said priest on this occasion, so that he may be informed and not dare to demand in the future more than that which they are accustomed to pay." This certainly would tend to dispel the common idea that the clergy dominated the minds of the people, or that in the Spanish colonies the officials stood in awe of the priesthood.

Don Francisco Cruzat succeeded Piernas as lieutenant-governor, but only remained in office a short time, being superseded on account of sending agents without first obtaining orders to the English possessions to negotiate with the Indians there for the liberation of some captive Missouris and Piorias. Fernando de Leyba was appointed his successor. General George Rogers Clark, who had just conquered the English Illinois country, received liberal aid directly and indirectly from him and the Spaniards. Without this quiet and effective aid, Clark probably could not have maintained his possession of the country. It is also well to remember that arms and supplies came up from New Orleans to aid the colonies, and also large sums of money, powder, and provisions. Although not generally recognized, this country owes a debt of gratitude to Spain for the assistance extended to the American cause during that period. The celebrated attack of the English and Indians on St. Louis was made while de Leyba was lieutenant-governor. The report of the Intendant Navarro no doubt gives a correct account of this attempt to conquer the Spanish Illinois country, for this would have been the result if the attack on St. Louis had been successful. It is also certain that if the English had succeeded in taking St. Louis, Cahokia, Kaskaskia, and the whole of the Illinois country east of the river as far as the Ohio would have been reconquered by them, and perhaps the whole course of western history deflected into a different channel.

Shortly after the attack on St. Louis, de Leyba died, and Cruzat was reappointed. He fortified St. Louis by surrounding the town with a stockade and erecting several towers. Impressed with the rapid growth of the settlements on the east side of the river, an effort was made by the Spaniards to induce Canadians to immigrate into the country. Liberal offers were made to French, Spanish, Italian, and German Catholic settlers. Such immigrants were offered free land and in addition enough "maize in the ear" for the first year, "an axe, a hoe, a scythe or sickle, a spade, two hens, a cock, and a a pig of two months, and with which they can easily found and establish a household which will provide them with a living, or may even make their fortune." But these inducements did not secure the desired immigration. Cruzat, also in order to promote the cultivation of hemp, recommended the introduction of negro slaves, and the government decided to make provision to supply the settlers "with negroes in such manner as may be practicable." During his administration Cruzat promulgated a number of general ordinances for upper Louisiana, as well as ordinances relating more particularly to the municipal affairs of St. Louis. From him we have a list of Indian traders among the several tribes in 1777. In 1782 his wife and sons were captured by Colbert's band near the present Memphis, and her account of this capture and description of the conduct and operation of this motley band of freebooters is not the least interesting document discovered among the Spanish archives. It gives a lively picture of the perils and dangers of the early navigation of the Mississippi.

In 1787 Perez followed Cruzat, and he without delay reported that the fortifications of St. Louis needed repairs. While Perez was lieutenant-governor, Colonel George Morgan with some of his adventurers visited him, with letters from Gardoqui. Morgan then supposed that he had received a vast grant and was authorized to establish a colony on the west bank of the river near the mouth of the Ohio. He was well received by Perez and supplied with guides and provisions to make a careful examination of the country from St. Louis south, and finally established the capital of his supposed principality at New Madrid, then known as L'Anse a la Graisse. He at once began his surveys, but his scheme was rudely shattered by the machinations of Wilkinson and the orders of Governor-General Miro. In his letters to Gardoqui and other documents published in this collection, he fully reveals his plans. This can be truly said, that the stream of American immigration to the Spanish territories west of the river was first set in motion by Morgan. Free land and no taxation attracted a large number of settlers. The fact, that the ordinance of 1787 was supposed to emancipate the slaves of the owners residing northwest of the Ohio, caused many of the Americans with their servants residing in that territory to cross the Mississippi. As a result, in a few years the American population in upper Louisiana about equalled the French population. All these settlers took the oath of allegiance, and some of the New Madrid lists of those who took this oath of fidelity were found among the papers that came to Seville from the Island of Cuba.

Zenon Trudeau was the next lieutenant-governor of upper Louisiana. Now the persistent demand of the free navigation of the Mississippi gave the Spanish officials good cause for anxiety. Louisiana had been reluctantly accepted by Spain from France with the view of making out of this vast territory a bulwark against the invasion of Mexico from the east, establishing the Mississippi for ages as a barrier against all future encroachment westward. But the American pressure westward was irresistible. The navigation, too, of the river was a constant source of friction, and when Genet in 1792 proposed to invade Louisiana to secure this free navigation, and possession of New Orleans, he found enthusiastic support among all classes of people in the West. The agitation of Genet and appointment of General George Rogers Clark as chief of a filibustering corps caused Carondelet great alarm. He made every preparation possible to stem this tide and provide against this dreaded catastrophe. But the newly organized Federal government and the proclamation of Washington averted the danger of this invasion. And the treaty of San Lorenzo el Real for a time secured by peaceful means all the West desired; the free navigation of the river, and a place of deposit in New Orleans. In this period of agitation the post of Cape Girardeau was established as a point most advantageous to guard upper Louisiana, and observe the movements of any hostile forces at the mouth of the Ohio. Lorimier was appointed commandant and his journal, kept by Largeau, for he could only write his name, during this threatened invasion, was found in the archives, among the papers from Cuba. From January, 1794, to January, 1795, rumors of war and invasion flew thick and fast. Clark's legion was reported assembled and ready to float down the Ohio, the loyalty of many French habitants was suspected and the Indians were made restless and suspicious by conflicting and contradictory statements. Several times Lorimier personally went to the mouth of the Ohio to secure reliable information. He sent spies up the river to ascertain the strength of the filibustering corps, only to learn that it was being organized elsewhere. Many Indian bands with their chiefs visited his post to hold councils and to make complaints, but principally to secure corn and tobacco. Couriers daily came and went with orders and reports. When Spanish officials arrived they were saluted by the savages with loud salvos of musketry. Men were busy building canoes and pirogues in the so-called "dock-yard." It was indeed a time of great excitement and activity and this journal gives a vivid sketch of events now all but forgotten.

Several years after this threatened invasion, Spain and France became allies, and now again an English invasion of Louisiana from Canada was feared. General Collot, a French officer, who was taken prisoner by the English on the Island of Guadaloupe, of which he was governor when they captured the island, was taken to Philadelphia and paroled. During his enforced military inactivity he made a voyage into the interior of America and under authority of the Spanish Minister, visited Louisiana to ascertain the value and condition of the military defenses of the province. When he arrived in New Orleans he was arrested and his papers seized by order of Carondelet, who had no information of his true mission. Collot's visit in upper Louisiana aroused in the French inhabitants the latent hope that the country would be retroceded to France. A society of sansculottes was organized in St. Louis, and the new French new year's day celebrated with great enthusiasm, all of which greatly aroused the indignation of Carondelet. Apprehensive of this revolutionary sentiment so displayed, as well as of an English invasion of upper Louisiana, he sent a squadron of galleys, and what was then considered a large corps of troops, under Colonel Don Carlos Howard, an Irish officer in the Spanish service, to St. Louis. He had instructions to arrest some of the principal leaders of the discontent. The year of the arrival of this squadron of galleys and force became known in St. Louis as L'Année des Galeres. It was the greatest military event in the history of upper Louisiana. The country however was not disturbed by the English. The traders of the Hudson Bay and Northwest Companies however constantly invaded the Spanish possessions on the upper Missouri, established forts, and all but took possession of the country. Trudeau organized the Spanish Commercial Company while he was lieutenant-governor, to protect the Spanish interests on this river and exploit the fur trade of that territory. Jacques Clamorgan was made director of the company, and with him, afterwards, David Todd, an enterprising English merchant, who operated at Michillimackinac, became associated. But unfortunately, Todd, who seems to have been a man for great affairs, died on a visit to New Orleans. It was agreed that the company should establish and garrison forts along the Missouri, and for this service was to receive an annual subsidy of $10,000.00. But the business of this company fell into disorder. The voyages proved unprofitable. Indian attacks, shipwrecks, and mismanagement entailed great losses and in the end the subsidy promised was never paid, nor were the English successfully expelled.

The most significant event during Trudeau's administration was the arrival of Pedro Vial dit Manitou overland from Santa Fé.

He was commissioned by the Spanish authorities of Mexico to trace out a route to St. Louis, and this task he successfully accomplished. He reported, that but for Indian hostility, he could have made the trip in twenty-five days. Vial's journey may well be considered the first march overland on substantially the route which afterwards became celebrated as the Santa Fé trail. When Trudeau retired he made a full and detailed report of the condition of upper Louisiana, a report now very instructive.

In 1799 Don Carlos de Hault de Lassus, Commandant of New Madrid, was appointed successor of Trudeau and New Madrid was attached to upper Louisiana. Before this time New Madrid was a separate sub-delegation under command of Foucher, Portelle, and De Lassus. De Lassus remained lieutenant-governor of upper Louisiana until the cession of the country. During his administration the "loyal vassals" of upper Louisiana made a contribution to support the King of Spain in his war, and the interesting list of contributors is preserved in one of the documents of this collection. Of course the threatened English invasion of the country was still a subject of apprehension. The Osage Indians, too, gave De Lassus no little trouble, and in order to secure their good will it was necessary to make frequent presents. The fort erected by Chouteau at the headwaters of the Osage, under contract with Carondelet, it seems failed to pacify this restless and troublesome tribe. In 1802 De Lassus organized a military expedition, ostensibly to punish a few Indians in the New Madrid region, but really, perhaps, to ascertain the military strength of the country, and the efficiency of the militia. Before he left New Madrid he, at any rate, provided for more stringent military service there.

The constant and rapid development and increase of the population on the Ohio filled the Spanish officials with apprehension for the future. When the Spanish flag was first unfurled on the Mississippi the quietude of the river was rarely disturbed by a passing craft. But now flatboats and broad-horns, carrying the products of the growing and prosperous American communities on the Ohio and its tributaries, daily floated down the river in great squadrons. Many Americans, with and without permission of Spanish authority, invaded the Spanish possessions, on hunting and trading expeditions, American applications for land concessions became numerous, and a resistless American invasion seemed but a matter of a short time. Evidently in case of a war with the Americans, the Mississippi could not be maintained as a bulwark of Mexico. But with the limited means at command this must be said, that the Spanish governors of Louisiana maintained well their authority in the country, peace with the Indians and order among the heterogeneous American settlers. No one can read these documents without being impressed with the great ability of the governors and commandants in charge of the Spanish affairs in Louisiana. They also display in a favorable light, their liberality, their intelligence and candor; and refute, at least so far as Louisiana affairs are concerned, the charge so often and ignorantly made, of a duplicity and system of double dealing greater than that of their opponents and rivals for power and dominion. That the government was not oppressive is readily illustrated by the fact that when the colony was finally ceded to the United States, not the least dissatisfied element with this change of government were the American immigrants themselves, who had found under the Spanish dominion that ease and comfort which exemption from taxation is sure to give.

The statistical censuses of Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis, St. Charles, New Madrid and Cape Girardeau are also of great interest, although it is a matter of regret that of the last census made in 1803 only that of Cape Girardeau has been found. Perhaps hereafter the census for the other districts may be discovered and thus a complete list of all the inhabitants of the province at the time when the country was transferred be secured. A photograph copy of the abstract of the census of all the districts of upper Louisiana made by De Lassus in 1800, closes the list of documents of the Spanish régime in Missouri.

THE SPANISH RÉGIME IN MISSOURI

I

1767—ULLOA[1] SENDS AN EXPEDITION TO THE (SPANISH) ILLINOIS COUNTRY TO ESTABLISH A FORT AND SETTLEMENT AND HIS RULES FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE SAME.

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Among papers from the Island of Cuba.

Instructions for the expedition to the district of the Ylinneses,[2] which is in charge of Captain Don Francisco Rui.

1. Of the 88 men remaining in the Spanish company, Captain Don Francisco Ruï shall take 2 sergeants, 6 corporals, one drummer, and 35 men, including one of the two cadets — a total of 44 men; and he shall be accompanied by the second lieutenant of the same company, Don Francisco Gomez.[3]

2. This expedition shall be made in two boats of 24 or 26 oars each; and although, according to the custom of the country, the troops ought to manage them, only filling up the number of rowers lacking, since they are not accustomed to such work, I have arranged for 10 rowers to accompany each boat. Thus after dividing the soldiers between the two boats, each one will have 31 men for rowing, including the corporals and the drummer; and there will be 5 or 7 men always resting, so that continual shifts may be made in the labor. That labor is very fatiguing in the first 5 or 6 days, as the men are not accustomed to it, and even do not know how to row; but later all become skillful and dextrous at it, and this is one of the

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[1] Antonio de Ulloa, first Spanish Captain General and Governor of Louisiana, arrived in New Orleans with two companies of Infantry, March 5, 1766, but did not take formal possession of the colony; and on October 29, 1768, by order and decree of the French Superior Council of Louisiana, supported by a revolutionary party, quit the colony, unwilling to engage in war, and perhaps because his force was small and his instructions indefinite. During his residence he in a large measure controlled the policy of the French Governor Aubry, and sent out expeditions to remote districts of the province, thus this expedition under Captain Rui to the mouth of the Missouri, to protect the Spanish interests.

[2] "Illinois" thus spelled by the Spanish officials. Also spelled "Ylinoa," "Ylinois" and otherwise in various Spanish documents.

[3] In other documents his name is given as "Don Fernando Gomes."

labors that the troops in the colonies must undergo. None but the two cadets and the sergeants shall be excepted from that labor; and the latter even are wont to row voluntarily for some time in order to enliven the others, and in order to get up a heat when it is cold. All the others must row and attend to the other work without excepting the stewards or assistants.

3. The full command of the boats shall be given to the officer who has command of the troops. Two French officers shall accompany this expedition. The second boat shall contain the families of the married men and their wives, and shall be commanded by a sergeant. It shall not separate from the first boat.

4. Transport must be given to a French officer, Don Guido du Fosatton[4] [*sic*], who shall perform the duties of engineer; to another, Don [*blank space in MS.*],[5] interpreter and man of experience among the tribes; a chaplain, Don [*blank space in MS.*]; a surgeon, Don Julio Bauptista Valleau;[6] a carpenter, Jose Maria Suares; a bricklayer, Joseph Balboa; a stonecutter, Joseph Ulabaro; and some apprentices or journeymen in the above trades; and a smith, Francisco Lopez.

[4] Dufassot in 1778 ordinary alcalde at New Orleans. 2 Martin's Louisiana, page 42. Probably the same.

In the Missouri Historical Collections, vol. iii, No. 2, I find this sketch of Du Fossat from the pen of Judge Douglas: The Chevalier Guy de Soniat du Fossat was born in the Château du Fossat in Guienne in France, September 17, 1727. He entered the French army in 1746, and was made lieutenant the next year. In 1751 he came to Louisiana as lieutenant in the Detached Corps of Marines. He was stationed at New Orleans and married there in 1753 Françoise Clodine, daughter of Maturin Dreux, a worthy ancestor of Charles Dreux, the first confederate officer killed in battle in the war between the States.

The Chevalier du Fossat was appointed captain in 1759, and was sent to the Illinois, where his services as an engineer were in demand, that same year. On June 6, 1760, Du Fossat was witness to the marriage of Clement de Lor de Treget and Catherine Marin, at the Chapel of Ste. Anne de Fort Chartres. He was recalled to New Orleans in 1761, where he remained in the French service until 1767, when by permission of his government he entered the service of the King of Spain. In 1769 he was made Captain of the Batallion of Louisiana by O'Reilly. In 1772 he retired from active service, and in 1775 he was appointed to the civil position of Alcalde, which he seems to have held until his death in 1794. In 1778 he bought from the Ursuline nuns a plantation on the Mississippi below New Orleans, since known as the Villere plantation, where he made his home. It is memorable as the scene of Jackson's victory over the British on January 8, 1815. M. du Fossat was the author of a *Synopsis of the History of Louisiana from the founding of the colony to the End of the Year* 1791, which was translated and published a few years since by his descendant, Charles T. Soniat, Esq., of New Orleans.

Most of the facts stated above were derived from Mr. Soniat's sketch of the life of his ancestor.

[5] Supposed to be Martin Duralde, whose name first appears in St. Louis about this time.

[6] Afterwards settled in St. Louis and died there November 24, 1768.

5. Each one of them shall receive his ration or the pay suitable for his maintenance during the voyage; and since the two boats must keep together during all the voyage, the men shall endeavor to mess together among themselves as best they may, so that there may be no quarrels, and so that they may maintain good relations and act in harmony.

6. Care must be taken that the start in the morning be at the beginning or break of day, and that it be not left to the will of the masters, as such men are never without reasons for delay. And before leaving behind the point Cortada[7] [*i.e.*, short], very careful watch shall be kept, in order to avoid the desertion that generally originates from the very quarrels that the men have among themselves.

7. On passing the English forts of But[8] in the river of Yvervila, and the new settlement of Natchees the boats must not anchor at them, but must pass well out without any one landing, but they shall fling their banners and the pennant of the one acting as commandant. When they are near, measures shall be taken not to stop opposite those forts or even in their vicinity.

8. The two shores of the river as far as Ybervila [*i. e.*, Iberville], belong to Spain, but from Yvervila on, only the right shore when descending the river. Halts shall be made on that shore and not on the left, in order not to give the English a precedent so that they may not get in the habit of entering the lands of Spain.

9. Daily after the halt for the evening, the rations of bread and meat and supplies, [*miniestras*] shall be distributed by weight and measure; and the soldiers or sailors shall not be permitted to take provisions at their discretion as is the custom among the French. He who shall do so shall be punished as seems advisable.

10. It is the aim to reform abuses. Since the serving of rations of brandy to the soldiers and sailors both on voyages and when halting, and which the French call "Filé" [filet ?] is an abuse, and from it results intoxication and disorder, that liquor shall not be taken or included among the rations. The sailor or soldier who is in the habit of drinking may take it on his own account, but even so, he shall not be allowed to use it to excess.

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[7] Pointe Coupée, about 25 miles above Manchac where there was a French settlement.

[8] In 1766 an English detachment of the 25th Regiment built a small stockade fort at Bayou Manchac, and which they named Fort Bute — in honor of the Earl of Bute, prime minister of England. The British slave traders brought Guinea negroes through this bayou there and sold them to the French planters. Fort Bute was evacuated and demolished by the British in December, 1768. A trading station was there down to 1770.

11. On Sundays and days of observance [holidays] mass shall be said ashore before day, and all must be present at it. At the conclusion of the mass, the "Salve" shall be chanted as is usual on the warships of Spain. At night after pulling up or in the boats themselves before pulling up, the rosary shall be recited and the prayer repeated, trying so far as Christian customs are concerned to preserve all those of Spain.

12. The best of order must be maintained in the camps, and two or three sentinels at least must be maintained all night in order that they may not be surprised by any band of savages; and care shall be taken that no one gets far away from camp on account of going out hunting. When camp is made, the weapons of the soldiers shall be examined to see whether they are loaded and ready. They shall be placed near the two commandants, at the two ends of the camp, the place where the sentinels stand guard; but they shall be covered in order to keep the dew off them.

13. As experience is lacking in regard to the things and circumstances that must be observed on these voyages; the dangerous places along the route on account of the vicinity of the savages are unknown; as well as others that are difficult because of the obstructions or too strong currents in the river; (the boats shall) advance according to the advice of the two French officers who have already had the experience in such voyages.

14. The object of this expedition is the preservation to his Majesty of the royal domains that belong to him; and to maintain with the savages the same good relations and accord that the French have been able to preserve. This is the whole affair, and is all that is of moment. If this is not attained through any accident or cause its purpose has not been successful; and on the contrary, the instructions of his Majesty will have been neglected. Its success consists in making use of those means that are suitable for it, and avoiding whatever is contrary to those ends. Consequently, there is need of great prudence, of great reflection, and of great toleration, not only with the savage, but also with the soldiers, and with the other employees who go. For one angry man may frustrate all the plans in many ways, and in order that that may not happen, one must tolerate him, and clothe himself with patience, and it shall be laid to heart that he who commands ought to have more patience than all those who obey put together; and that every man in his class and sphere has a genius and a character distinct from those of others, and it is not

possible for all to change theirs in order to accommodate themselves exactly to those of the one who commands.

15. The command of the district whither the expedition is going cannot be military, according to the custom and rule of Spain. In strict terms what the troops are there to perform is not a matter of military obligation, nor a subject of military command, but if they be asked civilly, courteously, and affably, they will do whatever is needed, especially when it is not asked that they do it free of charge.

16. The others who go as workmen, although they are making their daily wages, will be very lonely, far away outside their country in strange and distant lands; and if to this be added the fact that they find but little kindness, harsh treatment, and a lack of affability in their superiors; or if while they are not soldiers, the attempt be made to subject them to a method of service similar to that of the soldiers, that will be enough to make them grow weary of and desist from the undertaking. Besides the government of those districts depends more on politeness and urbanity, than on the civil and military departments.

17. Much more prudence is needed in dealing with the savages, for that requires great wisdom, cunning, and civility; and although they are like brute beasts in their customs and manners, they are especially fastidious and sensitive in their dealings with others, and desire that they be regarded with distinction and respect, basing this on the dominion of their lands, and allowing us to enter them, not because of any right, but because they wish it.

18. The armament having arrived at Ylinneses, what is ordered there for the settlement shall be performed, and the French commandant of that district, Monsieur Santange [St. Ange] shall contribute to it with his information, with his experience, and with the documents that shall be necessary for the best success.

19. The officer Don Guido Dufosat, who is going to perform the duties of engineer, carries the particular instructions of what he has to perform in regard to the arrangement of the fort: namely, he must quickly have a stockade constructed with a front of 35 or 40 varas[*] and a like depth, sufficiently large so that the necessary quarters can be built for the workmen, the soldiers, and the rest of the people. It will be entirely built of wood speedily and with the least expense possible, until it is made with the solidity and arrangement that are to be permanent.

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[*] The vara differs in the various Latin countries. That of Spain is 33.384 inches English measure.

20. The goods that are taken as presents for the savages shall be distributed in the manner that is decided there with the advice of Monsieur de Santange [St. Ange]; but some part of them must be reserved for the future; for if they are all disbursed at the beginning, there would be nothing left with which to satisfy the savages later, and that would be a new embarrassment.

21. That distribution of presents must be made with other ceremonies than those practiced by the French. A report shall be made of the kinds and quantities of each article that shall be given to each nation in accordance with the chiefs and warriors that must have a share in them. That report, signed by the commandant, who shall order them distributed, shall be sent to the commissary of the colony in order to form therefrom the data, and without which the fitting allowance cannot be made.

22. The same must be done in regard to the supplies consumed by the savages. A certification of them (such supplies consumed) must be made out by the commandant, so that it may be entered in the account of allowances.

23. In regard to the rations of the voyage, the account shall be made out monthly by the one in charge of them, and below them the commandant shall place his certification to the effect that the expenses above expressed are correct.

24. In regard to war supplies, the same thing shall be done in another and separate report of expenses; and in regard to powder and munitions of war another separate account. It is to be understood that the soldiers and sailors shall not receive any perquisites of powder and ammunition as was the custom among the French; and there shall be no consumption of such things except for a legitimate reason which shall be explained in a proper report.

25. He who needs powder and ammunition to hunt, shall get it at the price current for it, on the account of his own [credit] possessions. Those who engage in hunting shall hunt with muskets which they shall purchase in the same manner, and they shall not be permitted to use any of the muskets of the garrison.

26. The ammunition that shall be sent for military service shall be kept for that purpose as long as that lasts which is also sent for sale on the account of the royal treasury. But when the latter is used up, that of the garrison shallbe used, reserving only what is very necessary for any accident for which it may be needed. Great care must be taken of the powder, both in making the magazine for

it in a place remote from all concourse and danger, and it shall be in a place elevated from the ground and dry, so that it may not gather moisture. Care must be taken to use always the oldest and to keep the freshest.

27. A stock of merchandise of all sorts shall be sent for those who may need them; and in those goods they shall be paid their wages for the work that they perform. It is to be understood that this is be at the price that will be given in an enclosed list which will be the same price as is current there.

28. When the troops have arrived there they shall be occupied in clearing the place which is selected for the fort; in cutting timber; in dragging it when cut; and in all the other work necessary for the establishment. For the time that is spent by those who work at this, in addition to their daily allowance of pay, they shall receive the excess over this amount that a day-laborer receives as his regular pay — the sum of 4 reals.[10] Consequently, together with the allowance, that will make the same wage, and the amount thereof shall be received in the goods that they need at the prices current there, such as powder, ammunition, muskets, and wearing apparel.

29. He who shall prove apt for carpenter work or for brick-laying, will be paid, as a workman at those trades, 6 reals, in consideration of the fact that he must be provided with tools for it.

30. While the building is going on, it will be sufficient to maintain one sentinel by day, and two by night.

31. The savages, too, who go there will also be able to help in the building. They shall be paid in goods and food, at the rate of 4 reals. But it must be noted that they are a race with whom it is not advisable to use any severity, and that one must treat them with much love and tolerance.

32. The work necessary for the quarters having been finished a large wooden building shall be constructed outside the fort. Then having chosen the dirt suitable for making adobe bricks, the making of them shall be begun. An agreement shall be made with the men at the rate of two and one-half pesos per hundred (or at the highest three), delivered dry at the doors of the building. At first this sum will appear small to them, but when they get used to making them, they will find that each man can make at least one peso[11] per day,

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[10] The old Spanish *real de plata* was equivalent to about one-eighth of a dollar — i.e., 12½ cents.

[11] The Spanish dollar.

especially if the water and the clay be close at hand. That is what must be considered, for two men between them can make more than 100 bricks per day.

33. While the adobe bricks are being made, the stonecutter can be getting the masonry ready for the foundation, and all the stone which will be necessary for it. And when there is enough of both bricks and stones, the walls of the fort will be begun on the outside of the timber so that the wood will be in the inside.

34. Since the men have no other thing to do than that there, the work can be advanced considerably in a very brief time, as has been seen to be the case with the English in their two recently-founded settlements of Yvervila and Natchees.

35. After the walls of the fort have been finished the artillery shall be mounted on them. By then the new order shall have been issued for the making of the buildings with solidity, and the order in which they are to remain. Before this, however, the powder magazine shall be built in one of the angles of the wall. That can be accomplished by raising the wall in that part more than in the rest.

36. The manner of the building shall be as follows. The foundation shall be of masonry, without lime, but united with the same clay of which the bricks are made, after it has been well molded with the feet and well rotted. A row of unfinished stone shall be laid on the foundation, or in its place, well-dressed stone, which shall rise 1 or 1½ feet from the ground, and shall be bound together with the same clay. Above this row of stone will be built the wall of adobe bricks which shall be bound together with the same clay. On top of the wall it will be concluded by another row of the same rough stone or dressed masonry ½ or 1 foot high. Finally, it will be given a finishing of the same clay inside and out. The edifices shall be built in the same manner.

37. It must be inferred that at the same time one sets about the founding of a fort. that he is aiming also at the creation of a settlement; for a settlement will be of great aid and help in maintaining the fort. The intention is that, inasmuch as the garrison is Spanish, the settlement shall be so also, and that its government, customs, and manners shall be those of that nation. Therefore, it shall be enjoined that if possible the workmen who are requested (brought) from Havana shall be married, and that they be accompanied by their families; and measures shall be taken to see that some of the sailors who go

are Spaniards, and that they be married and take their wives. This matter will be continued below.

38. The greatest care shall be taken in this regard to accomplish this end. In order to attain it, it is necessary to well protect those who take their families, to heed their interests in all things, and not to allow vice to gain a foothold. In the beginning of a settlement rules are made, which must be observed, and serve as the foundation for the future. If these rules are not good, what is obtained will be a community of misrule, with vices as its foundation. Self-interest is evil on all occasions, for that is what corrupts everything. If there is not self-interest, but rarely is there a mistake in what is done, for care disembarrassed of this lure always inclines to the best, and the intention supplies what is lacking to one in intelligence.

39. Intemperance is a very common vice in the colony, but it can be easily restrained among the Spaniards. That is accomplished by the measures of not allowing disorderly taverns or vicious gatherings. Other vices can be corrected by preventing their introduction in the beginning, and there are some vices which are as general in the colony as the preceding. Therefore, those who are married, even though of humble rank and of mixed blood, must be regarded with especial distinction and esteemed highly; for the first settlers of the colonies, who have become opulent with the lapse of time, had no better fortunes in the beginning.

40. Inasmuch as the money now current in the colony is the money of the king, the weights and measures which are to be used must be those of Castile. Two sets of them shall be given before the expedition leaves: one in order that it may be kept and used as a pattern, and the other so that it may be used for common. Many others can be made from them. Sales and collections shall be made in them, and the rations shall be administered by them during the expedition.

41. After the stockade of the first fort is concluded, the lands shall be divided among the persons who are married, who shall be assigned the lands nearest the fort. Inasmuch as, for the present, no measuring is done by *caballerías* and *fanegadas*, which is the [land] measure used in Spain, that of *quadras* which is in general use in the Indies, shall be used.[12] It is to be understood that a *quadra* has a frontage

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[12] *Caballerías* is a land measure equivalent to about 33⅓ acres U. S. measure. *Fanegada* has either the meaning *fanega de sembradura*, or *fanega de tierra*; the former being the extent of tilled ground necessary for the sowing of one fanega (1.599 bushels) of corn; and the latter an extent of arable land, generally

of 100 *varas* and a breadth or depth of 100. Each habitant among the founders shall be given 10 *quadras* front and 10 *quadras* depth or 100 *cuadras*. That is equivalent to a frontage of 1,000 *varas*, and a depth of 1,000 *varas*. The endeavor shall be made to assign the land in perfect squares, which will avoid many suits at law and quarrels in the future.

42. Between every two lots there shall be a royal road 12 varas wide and straight; and the owners of each lot must be induced to gradually make roads near their lots, such roads to begin at a distance of 300 varas on all sides away from the fort. In the future other rules more necessary for matters touching the town will be laid down, as the ones now expressed are sufficient for the beginning.

43. When his Majesty's banner is unfurled at the place where the fort is to be established, the royal name of his Majesty must be given to it in the manner that will be advised elsewhere. A salute shall be fired with the swivel-guns of the boats and the musketry in honor of his royal name. A formal record of the establishment shall be made, in which shall be cited the day, hour, and the persons who performed it. Those persons shall be mentioned by their names, the names beginning with that of the commandant, and finishing with hat of the humblest soldier and sailor. In regard to those who take families, the members of those families shall be named, as well as the possessions of each family. A copy of that record shall be sent to the government, and the original shall be kept in the archives of the new fort and settlement.

44. There are two chief ends which compel the founding of this fortress. The first is to keep the savages in friendship and alliance with the colony; the other to prevent the neighboring English from entering the territories and domains of his Majesty. In order to obtain those ends, the greatest wisdom must be exercised, by temporizing with the first [*i.e.*, the Indians], and by not giving to the others [*i.e.*, the English], any reason for anger whence they may formulate a complaint.

45. In what concerns the savages, what they require is that they be treated as brothers, and that not the slightest affront, jest, or mockery be shown them, and especially that no one offend them through their women. For they are especially touchy on this score,

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400 fathoms square, or of pasture land five hundred. The specific measure is equivalent to 1.5871 acres. *Quadras* or *cuadras* (the present form) is a Spanish-American measure of 400 *pies* to the side, the Spanish measure *pie* (foot) being equivalent to 11.128 English inches. *Cuadra* means "square."

and consider it an injury, even more serious than do the most cultured nations. When they go to excess, and they do that, either through their inclination to theft or because they are so fond of intemperance, and when they are reproached, they give the satisfaction that is demanded in just terms. But if anyone tries to take justice for himself, although with the greatest moderation, they are irritated to so great a degree that, forgetful of their friendship, they become the cruelest of enemies and since their acts of revenge are always treacherous, although one try, he cannot escape, and a discontented tribe drags in its wake various other tribes allied to it.

46. When they lose their reason they are insulting and give offense, and at that time one must use the greatest prudence, and must flee from them and not consider their acts of barbarism as an affront. But when they have recovered their senses, complaint must be made to the chiefs of those who have gone to excess. The latter punish such men more severely and cruelly than vengeance could do for the committing of the offense. In private they are like wild beasts in their uncouthness and brutality; for although among themselves even they commit the most ferocious barbarities, yet even then one must get along with them in the best manner possible by availing oneself of the savages themselves for it. This is one of the reasons why brandy should not be permitted to be introduced among them, although that liquor is the thing that they most desire.

47. They are most self-interested, and do nothing without that end. Their friendship is held because they buy therewith the presents that are given them. They are never satisfied, for as often as they go to a council, one must give them something although it be but little. Consequently, it is inadvisable to give them all their presents at one time, but to reserve something for the time when they return. This is outside of the usual present which is given to the tribes with whom there is friendship.

48. Since it may happen that one must honor the chiefs of certain tribes who come to the fort, as has always been practiced, by giving them the medal of the king, a report will be given to the government of the tribes which come there, with information of the names and relations of the principal and secondary chiefs, in order that these medals may be sent. This is to be understood in regard to the tribes which can come anew to offer their friendship, since the old tribes have them from the time of the French government.

And so far as they are concerned it is the same as though the medals were the same as those of our king, for the Indians have been told so, in order that they might understand that no innovation is being made in anything.

49. It is to be noted that no recourse must be had to weapons or to violence with the tribes in the territories belonging to his Majesty. Everything must be by the medium of councils, and they must be made to see the injustice and wrong on their part in any affront, outrage, or theft; and they must be persuaded to give the due satisfaction as they themselves would request if they were the ones offended. It is also advisable not to offend or injure the tribes of the English district, and to maintain good relations with them when they come into our territory, but in such a manner that no jealousy or suspicion is caused the English. For that reason the traders or citizens of the new settlement must not be allowed to go to the English shore to trade with the savages who live there. But the savages who pass over of their own accord to visit or to change their territory, as they are accustomed to do, shall be admitted with pleasure, regarded cautiously, and allowed to settle wherever they choose, and an effort shall be made to secure their good will.

50. It is very important to endeavor to keep the tribes peaceful, both those who live in the Spanish territory as well as those of the English shore, for injuries result from the wars that those tribes wage among themselves, to the vassals of the king, on whom must end the vengeance of the tribe that is not friendly. Consequently, care shall be taken when there is any division among them to manage them, a matter which is brought about by summoning them to a council and persuading them and making them some little present. If the hostility is against tribes of the English territory, it is also advisable to communicate by official letter with the English officers so that they on their part may contribute to the keeping of peace, as they have an equal interest in it.

51. The greatest harmony must be kept with the English of the vicinity who occupy the opposite bank, and the greatest effort must be made to avoid giving them any motive for complaint or anger. At the same time the preparations and arrangements that they make are to be observed, so that account may be given of them. But this must be done without arousing their distrust, and assurance of their reality must first be obtained so that the government may be spared groundless anxiety.

52. It is natural that courtesy will cause some of their officials to visit the commandant of our fort, and under that pretext to observe its arrangement, and the other things about it. As they are the nearest neighbors, with whom it is necessary to live, entrance cannot be refused them, nor ought it to be, for that would be showing open suspicion of them and the desire to have no communication with them. But since it is necessary that good friendship and harmony prevail, we have the same ease on our part to go to see them, and with discretion and dissimulation observe also the disposition and order of their forts. It is to be inferred that on their, as well as on our, part, the forts have been established with no other end than to keep the respect of the tribes of savages and avoid any sudden assault from them. However, if the English do not first begin such visits, then there is no necessity for opening the road to them on our part.

53. The disputes that arise through grievances from one side to the other, must be terminated amicably be means of negotiation by complaining of the affront received or accepting such complaints, without any prejudice; and one must persuade [the other side] to make recompense, or submit to give it, in accordance to the right. By such way the reason for anger will pass, and it will be seen that there is no intention to be unreasonable, in order that friendship and good relations may rule.

54. The subjects of the English territory must not be allowed to come into his Majesty's territories to trade with the savage tribes, or with the citizens. If they attempt to, they must be induced to abandon it, by persuading them that each nation has its territory and its savage tribes with whom to trade, without entering into and among those of the other government or harming its vassals. If this is not sufficient, they will be restrained by the use of as little violence as possible until the English commandant whom it concerns is informed, so that he may restrain them and make them give up the attempt. Agreement shall be made with such commandant that the same shall be done under the same circumstances with those who try to enter his territories from the Spanish district.

55. If the English commandant is in need of food or any other thing except war supplies, and he can have them without causing any need to the settlement, they shall be given to him, and the exportation of them shall be allowed; and they may be bargained for at the prices that are current. When there is any need on our part, they shall also be asked from their settlement in the same manner.

56. The commandant of the fort shall choose one of the tribes who live near it, with whom trade shall be reserved for him, and no other person shall interrupt it. But he must advise the governor of the colony of the tribe that he shall have selected; and his power of trading shall not be extended to the others. This is conceded to the commandant so that, as chief of that district, he may share in the profits that the others enjoy without breaking the orders of that which he must prevent; and in order that he may watch over the interests of his Majesty and the fulfilment of his royal intentions in such manner that he may have regard to the greatest saving in the expenses and that the observance of the orders given him may be neither interrupted nor broken.

57. The other employes, without any exception, may trade equally with the other tribes, provided that they are not hindered thereby in the fulfilment of their obligations. For, since, as employes, they must not leave the place of their residence, therefore they can only trade by their own agency with the nearest tribes who go to the said fort to carry on their trading. Through their sons or hired help they may trade even to the most distant tribes, provided that they do so with no prohibited goods. The commandant, however, can do so only with that tribe whom he selects. The employes are allowed to do it, for, since it is permitted to the merchants of Nueva Orleans to go to take advantage of the profits of trade without having deserved it by taking part in the formation of the settlement and maintaining the friendship of the savages, it would not be right to deprive those of it who are the instruments for facilitating this same trade for the rest. But it is understood that none of the goods belonging to his Majesty must be used as is the custom among the French. [This shall be done] in no manner or as a loan to be returned in the same goods, and can only be done by buying them at the prices current on the account of their pay or by obtaining them with cash or with skins to the satisfaction of the storekeeper and at the price current there.

58. The tariff of prices which will be set down at the end of these instructions must be observed rigorously without any one transcending it in any way, and it cannot be altered either to a higher or less amount. If any one should alter it, the goods that he buys shall be embargoed, and the government shall be informed so that it may pass judgment on the matter and impose the punishment that is fitting. But if he who shall have disregarded the tariff, either by increasing

the price of the goods which he shall trade, or by decreasing them, shall belong to those settled there, he shall be deprived for the space of four years of the right to trade, and one-third of the goods that he shall get shall be confiscated, half of which shall be applied to the orphans of the colony and the other half to the hospitals.

59. Since Spanish weights and measures are to be used throughout, those equivalent to the French shall be sought, so that there may be no difference in the trade and articles that shall be given and received for one another.

60. No person who does not carry a license signed by the governor shall be allowed to enter among the tribes dependent on the settlement; and should anyone attempt it he shall be detained until information is given and the sentence passed. Such person shall not even be allowed to sell anything in the settlement itself, nor shall he be allowed to go back with his goods if he shall attempt to do that, for fear lest he penetrate in another direction, or that he go to trade them among the tribes of the English district.

61. The introduction of brandy, not only to the savage tribes, but also to the settlement, shall be prohibited entirely. He who must absolutely have it for necessary use, shall have a special license for it. All above this amount that is taken there shall be confiscated, and shall be emptied into the river itself in the presence of the storekeeper, the subaltern officer, the surgeon and the offender, and a certificate of it shall be sent to the government. Further, for each quarter cask of brandy which anyone attempts to bring in, he who shall make the attempt shall be mulcted 25 pesos. Half of the amount shall be applied to the commandant of the settlement, and the other half to the orphans and hospitals of the same settlement.

62. Boats which are going to trade will not be allowed to pass farther without first anchoring and until all their cargo, according to the invoice which they shall have presented in order to secure their license, has been examined. What such boat shall carry in prohibited articles in addition shall be confiscated, and it shall be applied in equal amounts in the manner expressed below.

63. No permission shall be given to introduce muskets, powder, and ammunition among the tribes who were not formerly accustomed to their use; while among those who are accustomed to them, a greater number shall not be introduced than is stated in the license carried by the traders.

64. If any trader attempt to build a house or keep a store in the

settlement he must subject himself to the laws and usages which are observed there. Those laws shall be imparted to such men, and if they concur in them, they shall be assigned a site of 30 varas frontage and of a like depth outside the fort. But they must be watched carefully to see that they do not introduce the detestable crime of concubinage with the negro and mulatto slave women. It must be intimated to those who settle even if they be peddlars, that they must become married within two years, and that if they do not do so they must leave the settlement to which they can never return to reside at any time. This regulation is most important in order to uproot the vice which is generally reigning in the colony.

65. When the time of any part of the troops expires and his Majesty is informed thereof, and the order is issued for their licenses to be given them, effort shall be made to induce those who procure those licenses to settle and receive an assignment of land which they shall own, under condition that within one year after the assignment of the land they shall marry; and for the contrary the land shall be lost, and such persons shall leave that settlement.

66. If any of those who intend to settle do not marry within the prescribed term for lack of women, the government shall be informed thereof, so that arrangements can be made for orphan girls of the colony, or some of the Florida orphan girls[13] who shall go from Havana where they are destitute. The latter are a light complexioned race and of good morals.

67. It must be understood that, so far as the settlement is concerned, it must be outside the fort but as near to it as possible. The space, however, of 300 varas between the one and the other must be left. Outside the houses must run an encircling pointed fence, which will be constructed by each owner at his own expense, in order to prevent the savages from making any sudden rush at night and surprising them. If the land permits, a ditch 10 varas wide and 5 or 6 deep shall be built to the fort. It will be entered through the door, of which there shall be but one. That door shall be located in the place where is the most shelter.

68. Since the first thing to which attention ought to be paid is to facilitate the mode of living, and that there be the least possible discomfort, seeds of all sorts of garden truck and vegetables shall be taken. As soon as the place [of destination] is reached that shall be one of the first efforts put forth. Two of the soldiers and one of the

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[13] Indian girls of the island raised by Catholic female orders.

sailors alternating day about shall make a large garden or several small ones, one for the commandant and officers, another one for the other employes and those of other trades, another one for the sailors and another for the troops. Care must always be taken of it until the settlement assumes larger proportions and until every man can make what arrangements he pleases in the enclosure about his house.

69. Game is very abundant there, wild cattle [*i.e.*, buffaloes], deer, and all sorts of fowls. Care shall be taken from the very beginning to have 3 or 4 savages, who shall go to lay in such provisions at the cost of the ones who shall enjoy them. They shall be accompanied by two men from among the best marksmen. Those men shall always accompany them, and [so that] in the future they shall be able to perform that office themselves, as the French have done, and as the English are now doing.

70. This does not remove the necessity for taking some domestic animals from the nearest place, and for that purpose the boat which is to be kept there for some time can be used.

71. Corn plantations or fields large enough to be of great relief shall be made immediately, and that will provide against famine. Later when the settlement has some stability fields of wheat shall be planted as well as of other grains, for the common welfare, all the people sharing in them in common.

72. In the beginning of settlements there are many things to be done, but it is a great relief to be in a country where one can kill more with a musket and a little powder than can be consumed, and in fertile lands where everything is produced in plenty because the climate is favorable and the soil virgin. Also of great consolation is the evenness of the temperature which is fine and propitious for the health. That was not experienced by the first Spaniards in the places where they began the settlements of the Indies, which were the beginning of the two extensive empires which Spain has in them to-day. This must encourage them by promising them good results in what they shall do.

73. Since the end for the stability of the settlement is, as has been said, the formation of a town, as thereon depends the support of the military; and since measures have been taken so that the greatest possible number of families go from this time on for the sake of its greater success; and since in consideration of the fact that the company ought to have some surplus capital from the allowance for re-

cruits (for in this country there is no chance to have recruits) that capital must be returned to his Majesty; the captain shall inform the sergeants, corporals, and the soldiers who shall have to serve that he who wishes to marry before leaving, or who should do so on the voyage with the Acadian women, and who shall take with them the wife that he shall marry, shall be given the suitable dowry from the surplus of money belonging to this allowance — to the sergeant 50 pesos, to the corporal, 40, and to the soldier, 30 — in order that he may get the furniture most necessary for matrimony. Land shall be assigned him there so that he may make a plantation in which he can work. He shall be given permission to work in it during those days when he is not standing guard. And during those days that it falls to his share [to stand guard] if there is nothing urgent, and it should be necessary for him, because it is the time of the harvest or planting, to work in his plantation, he can do so, by contracting with his companions to do it for him. He shall also be permitted to live with his wife in the house that they shall build on the said plantation, provided that on the days of guard duty and other duties, he shall not fail in his duty.

74. This allowance shall be divided among the soldiers, who are to be separated into three distinct armaments. And if, because of their readiness [to acquiesce], inasmuch as the sum of money is short and does not exceed 100 pesos, all those who marry should not have a share in those funds, they shall be paid the fitting dowry with the sum obtained in the future from the allowance to recruits. Those dowries shall be receipted for by the sergeant, soldier, or corporal, and the wife whom each one marries. At the foot of the receipt the chaplain will attest that he was present at the delivery.

75. If anyone shall become seriously sick during the voyage, and the surgeon shall consider it advisable to leave him at any of the places where there is a settlement, on the grounds that his patient's life is in danger if he do not do so, he shall do it as follows, either among the Germans, among the Acadians, or at any other of the places where we have a settlement. And if necessary, he shall ask for another man to become his substitute at the oar.

76. There is almost no land on the shores of the river, which is not inundated at the time of the high waters; and all the settlements of the colony are preserved by their precaution in having dikes which are erected along the shores of the river, and built of earth. It is advisable to examine them when a halt is made at the settlements

in order to do the same there. This shall be one of the first cares as soon as the settlements are begun to be founded, in order that when the high waters begin the dikes may be built along all the stretch occupied by the fort and the plantations.

ADDITION.

77. If it shall happen that any person who is essential for the keeping of the accounts and the qualification of the expenses, such as engineer, overseer, or master, be lacking, either because he was not provided, or because of illness or any other casualty, the governor commanding the settlement shall select from all the others the one who must perform the duties of the one lacking. For the care and responsibility incumbent on such man in looking after the affairs of the royal treasury, he shall receive the suitable pay for the time that he shall fill the office by way of extra recompense, at the rate of 100 pesos per year. A sergeant, a corporal, or any soldier who writes a good hand and who is of tried conduct may be employed in that duty. If the one lacking be the engineer, his duties as to measures, arrangements, and other things, shall be performed by the one who is most suitable among the master bricklayers and carpenters. When either the bricklayer, carpenter, or blacksmith is lacking, his duties shall be performed by the journeymen of each trade at the choice of the commandant according to the greatest aptitude which will be found among them. ANTONIO DE ULLOA (rubric).[14]

March 14, 1767.

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[14] A complicated flourish attached to the name, and among the Spaniards as individual and characteristic as the handwriting, and always a part of the signature.

II

SECRET INSTRUCTIONS OF ULLOA TO CAPTAIN RUI, DATED JANUARY 7, 1767, RELATING TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF TWO FORTS AT THE MOUTH OF THE MISSOURI, &c.

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Among papers from the Island of Cuba.

Second instructions for the establishment of the two forts which are to be built at the entrance of the Misuri[1] River, whose armament has been placed in charge of the infantry captain, Don Francisco Rui.

1. It has appeared advisable for the better outcome of this important matter to separate the contents of this document from the general instructions, so that what is being attempted be not divulged until arriving there; for it might act as an injury to its best success. Consequently, it is sent under the despatches addressed to the commandant of Ylinneses, Monsieur Saint Ange, in order that it may be received there after his [*i.e.*, Francisco Rui's] arrival.[2]

2. The armament has been prepared not for Ylinneses, as the commandant there will infer; but it is for the Misuri River. That is the place that is important, and is six or seven leagues distant thence [*i.e.*, from Ylinneses]. And inasmuch as that place [*i.e.*, the Misuri] is completely depopulated and desert, it is advisable to carry whatever may be necessary from Ste. Genevieve or Pencur[3] in Ylinneses which should not be taken from the city [*i.e.*, Neuva Orleans]. And since some necessity for something else may arise after arriving there, one of the boats with its master and crew (the smaller of the two boats) shall be kept; and manning it with soldiers it shall be sent to Ylinneses whenever necessary, in order that what is needed may be provided there.

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[1] The Spanish officials generally spelled the name of the river "Misuri." It is also well to observe that the Spaniards at first separated the Missouri river district from what they considered the settlements in the "Illinois country," Ste. Genevieve to St. Louis.

[2] St. Ange was treated by the Spanish officials as commandant of the Illinois district.

[3] St. Louis then it seems was not known in New Orleans by any other name.

3. The other boat shall be kept for the first two or three months if necessary. In that time the enclosures of the entrance with their huts inside will be enabled to be built. The boat will be despatched at that time with advices of all that shall have been done in the progress of the work and of what it shall be necessary to send.

4. Two forts are to be built at the mouth of the river, one on one side and the second on the other. The fort on the upper or north side shall be the larger and there is the place where the work of the wood stockades and the quarters shall be begun. When that is done the work shall be shifted to the lower or south shore, in order to do the same. But the latter fort shall be of less capacity. Consequently 25 men shall remain in the upper fort as a garrison, including 2 sergeants, 2 corporals, and the drummer, while the lower fort shall have 15 men including the two corporals. The latter fort shall be commanded by Lieutenant Don Francisco Gomez under the orders of the captain commanding.

5. Two safe, swift canoes with 4 oars shall be got at Ylinneses so that they may be taken to the new settlement, especially to act as post for that district. By their means all the news that are considered important can be communicated to the city [*i.e.*, Nueva Orleans], and whatever is needed can be requested from the said Ylinneses.

6. Eight four-pound cannons, with their proper tools, are being taken in the two boats. The former fort shall be called "Don Carlos Tercero el Rey," and the latter, "El Principe de Asturias, Señor Don Carlos."[4] Those are fitting names, for those forts are established at the key to the whole colony on the northern side, and in the most important place in it. Hence the officers in command of them will know that it is his Majesty and his Highness who are defending by their royal names their dominions of the colony, and the frontiers of Nuevo Mexico; and they shall execute that trust with the diligence that is suitable and that is required by circumstances. For now although there is nothing more than a beginning of the establishment, when his Majesty hears of the result of it, he will take greater acts of formality.

7. Since these two forts are to be established on the Misuri, and it is advisable therefor to have the good will of the savages, it will be proper to discuss in Ylinneses with the commandant there the man-

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[4] By the Spanish officials the names of these forts have in their reports been changed to "San" Carlos. It may be that in the original reports the word "Don" was read as "San" and that thus the confusion arose.

ner in which presents are to be made, so that all that is destined for that purpose be not spent in the said Ylinneses, but that one-half of it be reserved for the Misuri in order that the Indians who go thither might be satisfied, without that circumstance [*i.e.*, total disbursement of presents in Ylinneses] contracting their enmity. The savages shall be notified of what is about to be established, so that they may agree thereto, and may not oppose it, by persuading them of the desire of protecting the trade with them and of maintaining their friendship.

8. Monsieur de Santange, [St. Ange] being a man experienced in treating with savages will give instruction as to how they must be treated. But since he is not instructed in the purpose that induces this foundation [*i.e.*, of the two forts], and it is not necessary that he should be, it may be that he will demand that the fort be constructed in the district of the Ylinneses and not on the Misuri. In regard to that he must not be given any reason, nor become an obstacle for the suspension of what is determined. In consideration of that, without stopping in Ylinneses more than 12 or 15 days, in order that the men may rest, the necessary measures be taken, and the council of the savages attended, the object of the expedition will be continued. If that term can be shortened it will be very advisable to do so, considering that every delay is one of the gravest injuries to the ends which oblige us to form these settlements.

9. The flour and supplies [*miniestras*] necessary for the support of the soldiers and employes shall be taken from Ylinneses. A baker shall be taken thence unless he be taken from the city [of Nueva Orleans] so that he may make bread — all at the cost of those who shall consume it, both soldiers and sailors, and employes. If it is possible to get a baker who is a married man, it will be advisable to do so, so that his family should make one family more [in the settlement].

10. The Misuri River belongs to the domain of his Majesty in its entirety, as is stipulated in the last treaties of peace between France and England.[5] In those treaties it is settled that the left bank of the Mississippi from its origin or source to the River of Yberbila [*i.e.*, Iberville], which is the lowest part of it, should belong to England, and the right bank to France. The latter is the part which has come into the possession of his Majesty, and the Misuri is included in that and not on the left bank. For that reason the whole river belongs to Spain, and England has no demands to make in regard to it.

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[5] The Treaty of Fontainbleau.

11. Since the mouth of the Misuri has not had any settlement or defense hitherto, the English have begun to enter by means of that river, and have penetrated well into the interior in order to make a treaty with the savages. This is what is to be prevented, so that they may not argue a right to it on account of lapse of time, because we did not forbid it in the beginning. That is what happens when territories which are remote from appeal are not occupied.

12. It is natural as soon as they shall see settlements on them to discontinue that, but if not, they will be enjoined to do so, and will be persuaded to keep within the territories belonging to them, and not to break the faith in the treaties that have been made. If this is not sufficient, those who endeavor to pass farther will be detained and complaint shall immediately be sent by a sergeant to the English commandant of Ylinneses, asking him to restrain his people, so that they may not go to excess in trying to enter the territory of another monarch; and the English commandant shall be informed of the detention of the one who shall have been there and the number of boats with him.

13. If the Englishman detained shall yield and return to his country, the English commandant shall be written in the same terms. In both cases he will be told that it is a very strange thing for the subjects of his nation to try to disturb the good relations existing between their sovereigns, by the offense of trying to enter the countries of his Majesty, when it is well known that the strictest orders have been given by the Spanish governor-general as well as by the French, that no one pass from the Spanish to the English side; and that there will never be any complaint formulated to the effect that those who are found breaking this rule have all the possessions that they are carrying confiscated, and further that the whole penalty which they deserve for the offense is imposed on them.

14. If the governor of the English district does not assent to this, and claims that the Misuri ought to be common, then he will be told that subjects are only concerned with the observance of the laws that are written and sealed by the faith of the royal word of the sovereigns. If they have any claim in regard to the comprehension of the dominion of this river they must state it to the governor whom his Majesty has in the colony, so that the latter may determine whether he ought to agree with it or no. Each side shall make the fitting appeal to its respective court so that what is to be observed may be determined by them. But since the Misuri has always had this

name and is known as such on all the old geographical maps and in the treaties of peace, there is only discussion regarding the Mississippi, which is quite distinct from the other river, a thing so contrary to the agreements of the sovereigns ought not to be demanded on the part of the subjects of England. Consequently, they ought to refrain from entering the Misuri, as well as all other rivers which are found on the right bank of the Mississippi.

15. The greatest avoidance of the use of force must be observed, in order to convince the English of so just a thing [as is this]; for although one might wish, and that justly, to make use of force, the troops are not sufficient to show resistance. Moreover it would not be convenient even if they were numerous, to make use of force unless the resistance assumed the farthest extreme. But for any act of violence on the part of the English, if the charges have no force with them, they shall be met by formal protests so that those protests may appear in both courts; and so that the court of England may not say that they are feigned suppositions, or that they have not been made in time.

16. Such protests and the writs of the charges shall be framed in such a manner that their meaning may be stated clearly without preambles or superfluous and tedious terms; and a copy of them having been made, it shall be collated by 6 or 8 witnesses to whom notice shall be given that the original is sent to such commandant. The copy shall be signed by the witnesses, who shall testify that they have read it and that it is in accord with the original. The person to whom it shall be given to deliver shall sign a receipt for it at the end of the copy. On his return he shall testify that he has delivered it with his own hand, with mention of the day, place, and name of the person. He shall also give expression to the answer that shall have been given him by word of mouth, and the language in which it was expressed, and shall mention the one who acted as interpreter in making him understand it; or if it was in writing, he shall also explain it.

17. If the protests shall be from one person to another to the effect that the English are trying to gain possession of one of the two banks by means of force (and we should persuade ourselves that they will not transgress so greatly), then the endeavor shall be made to have at least two persons act as witnesses; and as soon as each act is concluded it shall be reduced to writing and all three shall sign it.

18. If the English shall claim that the upper or north shore be

evacuated, so that they may take possession of it, resistance must be offered to the uttermost. In such case, first, second, and third protests shall be made to them with all formality. All of the protests *shall conclude by saying that since that territory belongs legitimately* to his Majesty, as it is so stipulated in the treaties of peace; and since the injunction is given to preserve and defend it faithfully, that must be done to the uttermost. And if, before this circumstance, the fort on the lower or south shore shall be within cannon shot, it shall be destroyed, and the soldiers with their artillery shall cross to the upper shore in order to defend it to the end. And if they see that it is impossible to resist the greater number and the more formal preparations that their opponents are taking, surrender shall be made to the latter, stating that it is done because of not having forces suitable to make greater resistance.

19. Before the matter arrives at this pass, in accordance with the look of the affair from the beginning of the charges from one part to the other, and the ideas concerning the English that become prevalent, advice will be given to Monsieur de Santange [St. Ange] requesting him to send as many armed men as possible and what food supplies may be necessary so that they may not fall short in any event. A letter shall be sent to him relating the whole matter to him so that he may send it without delay and as quickly as possible to the city [of Nueva Orleans] by a small boat, so that the measures which are permitted by our means may be taken.

20. It is repeated that the matter must not be delayed until things come to such a pass; but since the distance is long, and for lack of advice, the necessary measures should not be taken, everything shall be reported, so that whatever happens the necessary course of action may be known. To take possession of a territory which belongs to the king and which it is important for him to preserve, and then to abandon it because of the unjust claims of the English is a shameful and dishonorable thing. To resist charges and yield to threats is even more shameful for the arms of the king. Not to yield to threats demands that one make defense with all the requisites that honor counsels and one's obligation demands. Therefore since the purpose of the armament is for the purpose of taking possession of the mouth of the river, consequently, all the remainder that is declared below is for that purpose alone; but it must not be practiced until the last extremity is reached. And when force and injustice compel such a course, it shall be in such a manner that all the world may recognize

that the intention is not to offend or to provoke, but only to defend the domains of his Majesty, as an Englishman himself would do if we tried to take possession of Bello River [*i.e.*, la Belle Rivière, or the Ohio], or of any other that belongs to them.

21. If the fort on the lower shore shall be out of cannon range of the upper fort, the men and artillery shall be withdrawn thence without destroying it, in order that the artillery may be taken to the principal fort which is the one that must be defended, since it by its nature stands for all the rest.

22. In a case of the following nature, where the English try to trample under foot the law of reason, it will be most advantageous to have gained the friendship of the savages, for they alone, with their method of warfare, will be sufficient to make the English refrain from attempting any undertaking. If affairs come to the pass of driving out force by force, the savages shall be summoned for defense. This must not be done, however, until affairs reach the utmost urgency: on the one hand so that the English may not avail themselves of this reason to say that they were provoked by us, or that the attack was begun by us, as we summoned the savages for secret purposes which made them suspicious.

The other reason is because the savages are very costly, as it is necessary to maintain them all the time during which they may be employed. But each thing has its due time, and it must not be called in until that time has arrived, nor must that time be hastened by mere fears. Right here lies the difference in the conduct of an able man to the one who blusters, or to him who neglects what it is important for him to do and executes it when there is nothing gained by it.

23. The tribes of the interior of the Misuri have had little intercourse with Europeans, and are, therefore, not so accustomed as others to the use of the musket. Consequently, the introduction of more muskets than is most necessary must not be permitted. And so far as possible the aim must be to cause the savages to forget the use of muskets.

24. A report shall be made of the names of the tribes of the Misuri River and its vicinity, the distance that each tribe lives from the forts that are about to be founded, the names of the principal and secondary chiefs, the number of warriors, the total number of persons of each tribe; and advice of all this shall be forwarded to the governor.

25. Instructions are secret advices which are given to him who

is charged with any matter for his government. If such documents are divulged, the whole object will be lost, and that object which is attempted will fail. Instructions contain matters which will cause no harm if they are published; but there are others, which if they are ascertained beforehand, will spoil the whole attempt. Persons are for many reasons of this nature. For that reason, not only have the present instructions been set down under different heads, but the precaution has been taken not to give them to the one who is charged with the matter until he arrives at his destination. But after he shall have received them, it is advisable for him to maintain secrecy concerning all the heads, and allow matters to be worked out in their order. The Misuri is not far from Ylinneses. When those who are going have reached that place, then they must know that they are to go farther; and as that farther distance is very short, they will not have the same reluctance in going as if they were told where they were going before leaving. The same thing is true in other matters and even to a greater degree; for at present, there are not even remote indications that the English are attempting to molest us. But if it were known in Ylinneses that measures were being taken in case that it might happen, no one would care to go farther; and as there is no probability that it will happen, because the advice concerning such things in the instructions is only a precaution, it would come to pass that if one were to publish a matter of which there is even no suspicion, he would have to allow the inevitable results to follow. This statement is made, in order that the definiteness, secrecy, and prudence with which the whole matter is to be managed may be better recognized. When one is informed that he is going upon a new enterprise, and that there is nothing of this nature in which difficulties are not represented, his constancy facilitating the resolution of a courage that perseveres in the work until it is finished, conquers those difficulties.

26. According to the information, Acadian families must soon arrive. As soon as that news proves true, they will go there to the number of 30 or 40, in order to swell the population. That will not disturb the government which is to be established, as the Acadians are a quiet people, of excellent habits, docile and pious in their religion; and this is the reason which brings them here.* When

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* Expelled by the English from Acadia in 1755, all their property being confiscated and houses burned. 650 arrived in New Orleans in 1765 and were settled on what was subsequently called the Acadian Coast, and in Attakapas and Opelousas. It does not seem that any Acadians ever came to upper Louisiana.

they go advices will be sent of the manner in which they are to be treated, and lands shall be assigned to them in the same manner as is declared in the other instructions.

Balisa[7], January 7, 1767.

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (rubric).

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[7] Ulloa in September 1766, went from New Orleans to Balize and remained there until March, 1767, awaiting the arrival of his bride, the Marchioness de Abrado, one of the richest women of Peru, and after his marriage to her by his chaplain returned to New Orleans and remained until expelled by the French superior council.

III

ULLOA'S INSTRUCTIONS TO ERECT FORTS AT THE MOUTH OF THE MISSOURI CHANGED BY A COUNCIL OF WAR HELD AT ST. LOUIS, OCTOBER 2, 1767.

General Archives of the Indies — Seville —Among papers from the Island of Cuba.

[Council meeting:]

In a council of war which was held on October 2d, 1767, in the post of San Luis in the district of Ylinneses, by the captain and commandant of the Spanish convoy, Don Francisco Rui, with the presence of Don Guido Dufosat, captain of infantry and engineer, and Don Fernando Gomes, second lieutenant of the company of Luisiana, to discuss the difficulty which presents itself of the inability to establish the large fort at the mouth of the Misuri River, and on its north side, in accordance with the instructions of Don Antonio de Ulloa, governor and captain-general of this province of Luisiana, because the said part is very low, and consequently, under water, when the river rises, to the depth of eight or nine feet, as is ascertained by the above-mentioned Don Francisco Rui and the engineer Don Guido Dufosat; finding these places sufficient for the establishment of the small fort on the south side, and because of the lack of conditions required for the building of the large fort in the place cited by the instructions (although they have found it at a distance of two leagues inland from the Misuri River, but since the instructions provide only that the forts be constructed at the entrance and mouth of the said river and not inland from it), each one of the above-mentioned persons has given the following vote:

Vote of the second lieutenant of the company of Luisiana, Don Fernando Gomes

In consideration of what has been stated by the engineer, Monsieur Dufosat, namely, that he has found a site at the entrance of the Misuri River sufficient for the establishment of the small fort that is to be built at the said entrance; and the statement of said engineer that the site is suitable for the construction of the said fort, although the end ordered by the governor in his instructions for the construction of the large fort cannot be attained, because the land is very liable to floods: it is my opinion that, if this is the case, and only the site stated is found, the royal service of his Majesty ought not to be postponed for any reason whatever. Given *ut supra* DON FERNANDO GOMES.

Vote of the infantry captain and engineer, Don Guido Dufosat

Although it appears that some difficulty is presented by the account which I have given in another place of the location of the mouth of the Misuri River, to the post on the south side being advantageous [enough] to meet in all things the desires of Don Antonio de Ulloa, yet my vote is that it be immediately established there, and that in the part opposite the north, a small clearing be made, and a small blockhouse be built which will be abandoned or moved in the spring, the time when the waters cover that land to the depth of eight or nine feet, and for which reason I find it impossible to construct the large fort. This small fort will confirm the taking of possession until orders are received from Don Antonio de Ulloa. Work can be done on the left bank in order to construct the small fort in a little time so that it will be in condition to receive the soldiers and workmen and preserve them from the inclemencies of the winter which is very near. This project appears to be necessary for many reasons: firstly, it will fulfill in part the orders of Don Antonio de Ulloa; secondly, the workmen who have been in the king's pay for seven or eight months without accomplishing anything in the fortifications, will have work all winter, and if it happens that Don Antonio de Ulloa change the instructions, the houses which shall be built can be moved; thirdly, next spring, we shall be fortified in this little redoubt, which will serve as a refuge or retirade for the workmen who will build the large fort. It is to be expected that by the month of March or April, they will be troubled by the savages, who will come in troops to see the Spanish nation, and it will be well to have a place in which to restrain them. Given *ut supra.* DON GUIDO DUFOSAT.

Vote of the infantry captain and commandant of the convoy, Don Francisco Rui

Being commissioned by Don Antonio de Ulloa, governor and captain-general of the province of Luisiana to go to establish a fort on each side of the entrance of the Misuri River, and to take possession of them; and finding myself in this post of San Luis, five leagues from the Misuri River, and making arrangements for the provisions necessary for the winter which is almost upon us, I have questioned during this interim whether there is or is not water sufficient for the boats which compose the convoy to enable them to ascend to the said destination; and for that reason, I resolved to go by pirogue with the engineer, Don Guido Dufosat to assure myself as to whether the above was correct. Having reached the Misuri River I reconnoitered the sites at the mouth mentioned by the instructions as the sites for the two forts. I found that at the point on the northern side, the site for the larger fort, that it is impossible to construct it because it is a low point which has been made by the said river ten or twelve years back (as I am told by the oldest inhabitants of the country) and that it is inundated to the depth of eight or nine feet by the waters. On the other side, the south, the site where the small fort can be constructed, I have found, according to my poor opinion, that it is possible to establish it. But, since the instructions of the above-mentioned governor say in section four, that the work shall be begun by the large fort on the north side, and since that is seen to be impossible, it can be given fulfilment by the abovesaid: my vote is that, in order that his Majesty's service may not be postponed, as well as the instructions of Don Antonio de Ulloa, the construction of the small fort be begun at once on the south side and mouth of the Misuri River for the taking of possession, as a protection against the inclemencies of the winter and in any invasion of the Indians that may be attempted, and in order that the taking of possession of both sides of the river be confirmed by the arms of the king, my master. It is also my vote that, in the part or point on the north a kind of blockhouse be built sufficient for the holding of a detachment of men with a sergeant, a corporal, and six men, until the governor give the most suitable orders, in respect to the impossibility of establishing the large fort where it is mentioned. During this interval, the workmen can get the material ready for the work of next spring. It is to be noted that the above-mentioned sort of blockhouse will have to be demolished without fail and its timbers transported to the small fort when the rising of the river is threatened. DON FRANCISCO RUI.

A copy of the original which is in my possession. Royal fort of Don Carlos el Señor Principe de Asturias, March 10, 1769.

FRANCISCO RUI (rubric).

IV

ULLOA REPORTS DISORDERS AT THE FORT ON MISSOURI TO MARQUIS DE GRIMALDI, AUGUST 4, 1768.

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Audiencia of Santo Domingo, Luisiana, and Florida; official correspondence with the governors, years 1751-1768; Estante 86; Cajon 6; Legajo 6.

Most Excellent Sir:

The troops that were to come having been delayed much longer than was intended, and for this reason the sending of the presents that ought to have been made to the Misuri at the beginning of this year, together with the other provisions concerning the conservation of that settlement and the good relationship that is maintained with the Indian tribes having also been delayed, it has become necessary for me not to delay longer and to despatch a boat in order to take them; for I believe that there will be time to arrive there and re-establish matters, before the arrival of the troops of which there is also a lack there, as those who were left after the excess committed among those who were found in the boat are very few.[1] And this will not fail to increase the expenses as it is necessary to conduct them in other boats when they arrive, which would be excused if all could go together, the despatch having been delayed, as I have informed your Excellency, with the design of minimizing expenses.

Your Excellency's orders I repeat, always find me with loyal will. I pray God to preserve your life for many years. Nuevo Orleans, August 4, 1768. Most excellent Sir, your most sincere and devoted servant kisses your Excellency's hands.

J. Antonio de Ulloa (rubric).

Addressed: "His Excellency, the Marquis de Grimaldi."[2]

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[1] This refers to 20 soldiers, a sergeant and the storekeeper who deserted from the fort in a boat and were captured at Natchez. Houck's History of Missouri, vol. i, page 295, note 5.

[2] Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs, resigned in 1777, and was succeeded by Count Florida Blanca.

V

ULLOA REMOVES CAPTAIN RUI AS COMMANDANT OF THE FORT ON THE MISSOURI AND APPOINTS DON PEDRO PIERNAS AS HIS SUCCESSOR, AUGUST 4, 1767.

Your Excellency:

Recognizing that the affairs of the Misuri between that commandant, Captain Don Francisco Rui, and his subaltern, Don Fernando Gomes, the sergeant who remained there after the flight of the one who was found captive here, have not been bettered; and that it would be necessary, either to change all that garrison so that its commandant should not have anyone of whom to complain, or to relieve the latter of his command, so that the troops may live in greater harmony, and dwell in more perfect accord; and being, on the other hand, in the midst of the trouble occasioned by the troops who are in prison here, without it yet having appeared who is most to blame for the disobedience and disorder which have happened there: I have determined that the commandant of the forts of San Luis and of Naches, the infantry lieutenant, Don Pedro Piernas, shall go to take charge of the command of the Misuri, taking with him the sergeant who has always been in his detachment; and that Captain Don Francisco Rui and the second lieutenant, Don Fernando Gomes, shall return here, together with the sergeant against whom the former has repeatedly complained for lack of respect and obedience. For I think that affairs will be better and more fitting in this form than with the commandant that has been there. The former com mandant as I have informed your Excellency, is not suitable for those affairs and no less in the command that offers here. That has been proven by experience, and indeed from the very beginning, for he had even no sooner arrived at Havana than he gave many signs of it, for there was not among the officers nor among the troops, anyone who could agree with his way of acting; in such manner that they and the workmen who have been there under his orders are all very angry with him, and have even gone so far as to not permit him to go to the fort, or to take the command.

In regard to Don Pedro Piernas, it happens quite to the contrary that the new settlers bewail his absence; and all the troops are so contented and pleased that they make continual praise of his methods, joviality, and good treatment. In this way do they accredit the progress of his fort and settlement, and he succeeded in it with less than one-half the people that were in Misuri.

I set all this before your Excellency's consideration, so that you may understand the great importance of the good conduct and other circumstances of the offices which are purposed for these districts; as I believe that I have done on other occasions.

I reiterate that I am at your Excellency's service and I long to receive your orders frequently. I pray God to preserve your life many years.

Your Excellency, your most sincere and faithful servitor kisses your Excellency's hands.

Nuevo Orleans, August 4, 1768.

J. Antonio de Ulloa (rubric).

Addressed: "His Excellency, the Marquis of Grimaldi."

VI

REGULATIONS MADE BY CAPTAIN RUI TO GOVERN THE TRADERS ON THE MISSOURI, 1769.

General Archives of the Indies — Seville —Among papers from the Island of Cuba.

Orders of Señor Rui, captain commanding the Spanish troops of Luisiana, military and civil governor of the post of Misuri, given to various traders whom he has allowed to enter the Misuri.

No trader of whatever rank he be, shall be allowed to trade at any other post than the one which I have conceded to him, under penalty to those who shall do the contrary to this order of confiscation of all their possessions. Those possessions shall be distributed as shall be judged most fitting by the chief governor of the colony. I permit the traders only to get supplies in the posts through which they shall pass, if they have need of them.

All those who go at the present time to the Misuri are ordered to appear at this post some time in the month of June of the coming year at the very latest, under penalty to all those who do not do so of a fine of five hundred pounds and two months in jail.

I permit every trader among the tribes of the Misuri by the license of Monsieur de St. Ange or any other French commandant, to trade in the place where he shall be and he cannot pass on to any other trader articles of trade which he shall have there. And I forbid him from buying any more goods from any other trader under any pretext whatever. This is under penalty of confiscation to the value of all that he has bought, and those things shall be redisposed of at the will of the chief governor. He who shall sell shall pay five hundred pounds as a fine, and it will be applied according to the ruling of the said governor.

The traders from the English district, who shall be found among the tribes of the Misuri, shall not enjoy the privilege of trading with the articles of trade that they shall possess; for they must not trade in this Spanish district. They shall immediately cease their trading and leave the post where they may be in order to return to the English district. He who shall not do so shall be seized, and his goods confiscated, and I shall give advice to whomsoever it concerns and touches.

The other traders of this district, who as I have said, can trade with those goods that they shall own, shall be obliged to present themselves before me, at the very latest some time during the month of June, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine. Whoever fails to observe this order shall have all his goods confiscated, and the governor of the colony will dispose of them.

I charge all traders to preserve good relations with all the tribes, since the tranquillity of the colony depends upon it. I enjoin them not to act the tyrant in their traffic and commerce with the tribes in order not to give any grounds for complaints and suspicions. They shall treat the tribes with the attention that is necessary, He who fails to observe these charges will be punished according to his offense and shall no longer have any right to return to his trading.

FRANCISCO RUI (rubric).

VII

PETITION OF THE MERCHANTS OF ST. LOUIS TO CAPTAIN RUI TO BE ALLOWED TO TRADE ON THE MISSOURI, JANUARY 15, 1769.

We, the undersigned merchants and habitants of the French dis district of Ylinneses certify to all to whom it may concern, that: knowing the murmurings of the savages of the district of the Misuri and their evil intentions because of the lack of traders and merchandise of which they were deprived by the orders of the Spanish governor of Nuevo Orleans, we have assembled in the house of Monsieur Saint Ange in the month of May, in order to present our humble addresses to Señor Rui, governor of the district of the Misuri, that we might obtain from him permission for the traders to go to the Misuri; and since the season is very far advanced, to inform Señor Ulloa of it, and show him the danger to which we were exposed by depriving those tribes of the aid which it has been customary to take them. They were on the point of executing their threats and the mischief which they were hatching against us. They had no other object than the destruction of all the French, if the sending of traders to them was postponed. For already the habitants were not cultivating their fields without terror. Consequently, and because of the repeated addresses to him, Señor Rui has determined to concede the permission for the Misuri after learning of the evident danger to which we were exposed, and that we had been compelled to abandon our labors and the cultivation of our fields in order to shut ourselves up in our villages, destitute of all fortification and with no hope of relief, and in danger of seeing our wives and children murdered by the hands of those barbarous peoples. Already were our neighbors rejoicing over a tragedy which they imagined as certain, and were counting those tribes among their allies, since some of the villages have already accepted their banner. Therefore, we attest that in view of our repeated petitions, Señor Rui has given permission for trade on the Misuri, since he has seen the indispensable need of conceding it, notwithstanding the orders of Señor Ulloa, who could not be informed in time to remedy the misfortunes by which we were threatened by the savages of this district.

In testimony of faith we have affixed our signatures and made our usual marks in the present attestation, in order that it might serve and avail Señor Rui so far as reasonable. Given in San Luis de los Ylinneses, January fifteen, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine. We attest also that we have presented the same memorials to Monsieur Saint Ange in regard to what concerns the district of the Misisipi, where it was absolutely necessary to send traders for the tranquillity of the tribes and that the conduct of Monsieur St. Ange in this matter has determined Señor Rui to conform to it. Given on the same day and year as the preceding.

Signed:

Laclede Liquest
De Volsey
Dubreuil
Habert [Hubert]
Becquet
Amable Guion
Picar La Royer

Rene Kierseraux [Kiercereau]
François Martigny
A. Conde
Le Page
Costi
Joseph Labroun [Labrosse]

Marks of Messieurs:

L'Arche
Picart [Picard]
Beguet [Becquet]

Paillan [Paille]
Barssalon [Barsalou]
La Hausié
Deschenes

I, the undersigned substitute for the king's attorney of the superior council of Luisiana in the Ylinneses, attest to all those whom it may concern, that the signatures and marks at the end of the preceding attestation are those of the principal habitants and merchants of the French district of the post of the Ylinneses, and that the contents of the said attestation are sincere and true, for we were present at the representations made to Messieurs Rui and St. Ange. In confirmation of the above we have affixed our signature to the present in San Luis de los Ylinneses, January fifteen, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine. Signed: La Buxiere.

VIII

CERTIFICATE OF THE MANNER IN WHICH CAPTAIN RUI DISCHARGED HIS DUTIES AS COMMANDANT ON THE MISSOURI, BY ST. ANGE, MARCH 2, 1769.

Luis de Saintange de Bellerive, captain of infantry and commandant of the French posts of Ylinneses: I attest that since the ninth day of September of the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven, when Monsieur Rui, captain commanding of the Spanish company of Luisiana, and military and civil governor of the new post of Misuri, arrived, until the present, he has been present with me at all the councils that he has held during the said time with the savage tribes who have come to see him. All the presents that he has given them have been arranged with my consent and distributed in the presence of both of us. The manner in which the above Señor Rui has treated the tribes has been sure proof of his great discretion and prudence; and he has always had the circumspection that circumstances have demanded, and has given no grounds to anyone for complaints to me of his conduct in any thing. I attest also that we two have lived as true brothers during all the above-mentioned time, and that he has not given place for even the smallest dispute with any habitant of the posts of my command. All the orders that he has enacted in writing for the traders whom he has permitted to enter into the Misuri have been quite in accordance with the greatest interest of the service of his Catholic Majesty, and for the welfare of the country and of all the colony. That characterizes in general his great capacity and his zeal for the service of the king and the public. I attest also that, on the day of the desertion of the storekeeper, Don Pablo Barrera with the troops who accompanied him, Señor Rui did not arrest them, as was given out by the fugitives, but only six men, for having heard in my presence their bad manner of speech, for both the storekeeper and the troops showed a lack of respect for him as well as the due submission which is prescribed to all troops by the regulations and ordinances of the king. Señor Rui has always seemed to me to be an officer full of service, honor, and good conduct in everything. At his petition I gave him this attestation in order that I might serve him in the way that most concerns him. Given in San Luis, March two, of the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine. Signed: SAINT ANGE.

IX

PLAN OF THE FORT "EL PRINCIPE DE ASTURIAS, SEÑOR DON CARLOS."

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Sir:

Because of having altered and built some works (by special orders) distinct from those represented in the original plan of the royal fort El Principe de Asturias, I take the liberty of sending Your Lordship the enclosed plan and outline showing the condition in which it is at present.

I desire exceedingly that Your Lordship is enjoying perfect health, and my lady as well, at whose feet I offer my attentive veneration. I reiterate my obedience to Your Lordship's orders, and my best desires of executing that obedience in those things most pleasing to you. I pray God to preserve your life the many years that I desire, with the most complete prosperity.

Santa Genoveva, February 6, 1769.

I kiss Your Lordship's hand. Your most affectionate, attentive, and grateful servant, and subject,

JOSEPH VARELA.[1]

Addressed: "Don Antonio de Ulloa."

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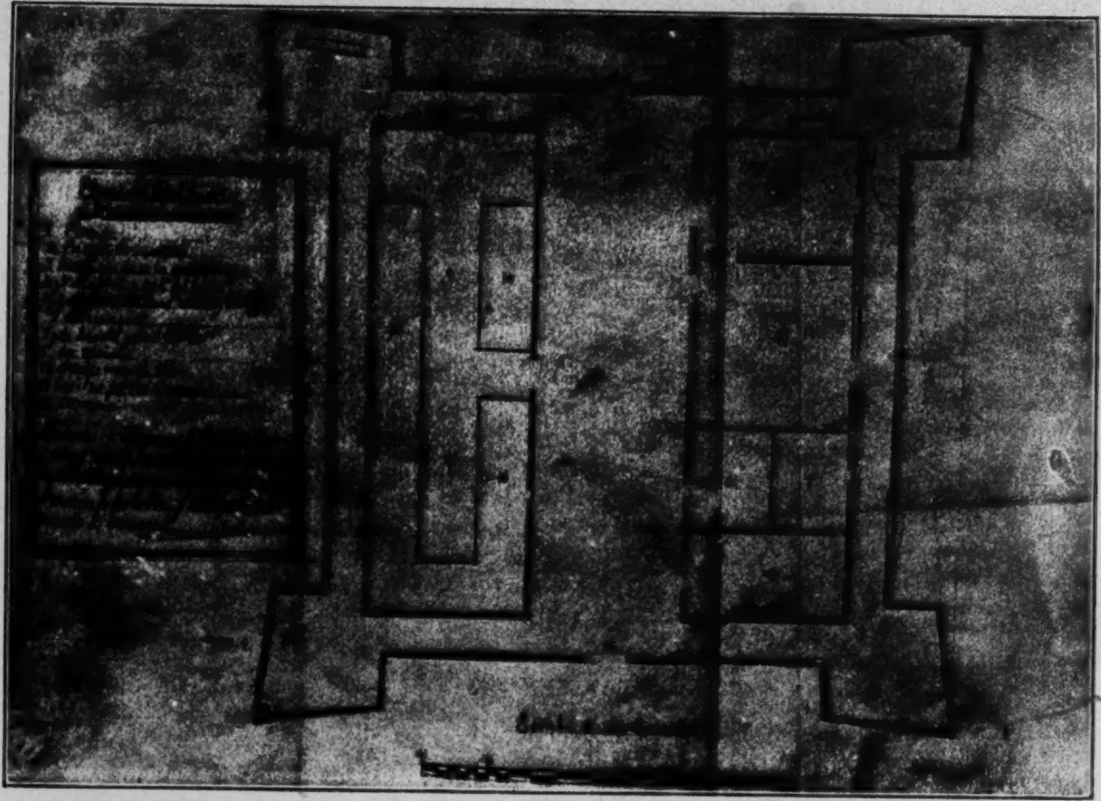
[1] Was a cadet in Capt. Rui's corps.



PLAN OF THE ROYAL FORT "EL PRINCIPE DE ASTURIAS—SEÑOR DON CARLOS"

UofM

X

RUI'S REPORT OF THE SOLDIERS, WORKMEN, AND SAILORS AT THE FORT DON CARLOS, MARCH 10, 1769.

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

[Report on Troops:]

Report of the troops of the company of Luisiana, the workmen, and sailors, who at the present time are stationed in this post, and of which I make formal delivery to Don Pedro Piernas, first lieutenant of the said company, and civil and military governor of the fort, by virtue of the orders therefor given me by Don Antonio de Ulloa, governor and captain general of this province.

TROOPS.

1st sergeant, Thomas de Covas,	1
Drummer, Carlos Herrero,	1
1st corporal, Pedro Leon,	1
1st corporal, Miguel Piñeyro,	1
1st corporal, Manuel Martinez,	1
2d corporal, Benito Denurrado,	1
Cadet, Don Jos Varela,	1
Miguel Moreno,	1
Juan Ruperez,	1
Antonio Lucas,	1
Juan Miñun,	1
Gaspar de Marcos,	1
Alexandro Pennela,	1
Domingo Otero,	1
Bernardo Peres,	1
Manuel Guerra,	1
Francisco Tienda,	1
Juan Manuel Molina,	1
	18

WORKMEN.

Master carpenter, Yup^{l} [Hippolyte?] Marin,	1
Journeyman carpenter, Francisco Petan,	1
Journeyman carpenter, Francisco Cespedes,	1
Apprentice carpenter, Manue^{l} Abreu,	1
Journeyman bricklayer, Antonio Thagua,	1
Journeyman stonecutter, Pedro Peres,[1]	1
Journeyman stonecutter, Yph^{e} Seco,	1
Journeyman smith, Antonio Victorino,	1
	8

SAILORS.

Francisco Sole,	1
Guillermo Boye,	1
	2

Royal Fort, Señor Carlos el Principe de Asturias, March 10, 1769.
FRANCISCO RUI (rubric).

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[1] This Perez remained and it seems gave a mortgage to Auguste Chouteau on some of his possessions, which was afterward released by Chouteau.

XI

REPORT OF THE VARIOUS INDIAN TRIBES RECEIVING PRESENTS IN THE DISTRICT OF YLINOA OR ILLINOIS, 1769.

Report of the various tribes, who, according to my knowledge, are accustomed to receive presents in this district of Ylinneses, to wit:

1. Kaskaskias 2. Kaokias 3. Peorias 4. Metchigamia	All tribes of Ylinneses.
5. Pranquichia [Piankishas] 6. Orinanón 7. Kikapu 8. Mascoutem 9. Miami	All of the district of Ouabach.
10. Poutuatami 11. Sauteux [Ottowas] 12. Outaoua	Of the river of San Joseph and that of Ylinneses.
13. Ayooua [Iowas] 14. Sioux 15. Saks 16. Renards 17. Sauteux [Ottowas]	Of the district of the upper Misisipi.
18. Misuris 19. Little Ausages [Little Osages] 20. Big Ausages [Big Osages] 21. Cañsé 22. Autocdata [Otoes] 23. Panimahá	All of the district of the Misuri River.

I certify that the tribes here above expressed are the same ones who are accustomed to come here to get presents.

San Luis, May 2, 1769. SAINTE ANGE.

To the above tribes are added the tribe of Chaouanon [Shawnees] and Mosi, who are acustomed to come to get presents, although rarely. These tribes belong to the Strait.

San Luis, May 2, 1769. SAINTE ANGE.

Besides the above-named tribes, sometimes the tribe called the Lautre and the Levation of the Strait are wont to come.

Date, *ut supra*. SAINTE ANGE.

I certify that the tribes enumerated on the preceding page are those who generally come to ask and receive presents at this post.

San Luis, May 2, 1769.

LE FEBREU DEBRISEAU, [Lefebvre Des Bruisseau].

A copy of the original which was presented before me, by Monsieur de Sainte Ange, commandant of the village of San Luis, and which is in my possession. Royal fort of Don Carlos el Señor Principe de Asturias, March 10, 1769, [*sic*].

FRANCISCO RUI (rubric).

XII

INSTRUCTIONS FOR HOLDING COUNCIL WITH THE INDIANS.

Instructions prescribing the manner of holding councils and making presents to the Indian tribes, and various other advices which Don Francisco Rui y Morales, captain and commandant of the company of Luisiana, and military and civil governor of the Spanish settlements at the mouth of the Misuri River, left for the first lieutenant of the same company, Don Pedro Piernas, his successor, according to the usual custom, by order of Don Antonio de Ulloa, governor and captain general of his province.

First: Every band of Indians shall be received in council upon their arrival at this post, and as soon as they have finished what they have to say, he shall answer that he is very glad that his children have taken the trouble to come to see him. Then he shall tell them that if they have brought any furs to trade with the traders, they shall do it forthwith, so that by doing so they may return sooner to their tribe. A day and hour shall be assigned to them for the commandant's answer to them; and for that time he shall have ready the present which is to be given to them. That present shall be placed before them, and they shall receive an answer to as many matters as they discussed in the preceding council.

Second: Whenever any party of Indians brings any scalps, and makes a present of them to the commandant of the post, he shall receive them and ask the Indians what tribe the above-mentioned scalps were taken from. By the reply he will be able to tell whether they are the scalps of friendly tribes. If they are of a friendly tribe, he will restore them to those Indians. When he answers them he shall do it with the words of one who shows himself pleased, but shall say that he does not accept them, as they are from a tribe with whom he lives in peace, and he shall put to them the following example: "If any tribe should bring me scalps from your tribe, would you yourselves be glad if I should receive them? I do not believe so." They will allow the reason of this and accept it without any complaint. But if the scalps should be from any tribe which declares war on us or from those whom we do not know because they are very far distant, then they may be received without any danger.

Third: Whenever any of the tribes living in this Spanish district declares war on any other tribe, either because of the theft of horses or for any other cause, the commandant shall endeavor to make peace, by speaking for that purpose to the head chiefs of both tribes, that is, if they are willing. But if either of them insists on prosecuting the war, they must be allowed to do so, and to manage affairs for themselves.

Fourth: Whenever any hunter or trader complains of having been robbed by any tribe, a sworn report of the theft that he has suffered shall be received from him, as well as the name of the nation that committed the theft, and he shall be asked whether he knows any of the robbers. Then when the chief of the tribe which has committed the theft happens to come to see the commandant, after the latter has heard whatever the chief has to say, and in case that he has not brought with him the article that was stolen by his nation, in order to restore it to its owner, the commandant shall put on an angry face, and shall tell him that if he does not bring the stolen article as soon as possible, necessarily he cannot look upon them as his true children, and that consequently he will give them no present, and will not receive them until the stolen article is restored. This is the method of restraining them and of forcing them to make restoration. Since it has been the rule followed by the French commandants of this region for many years, without there being the slightest breath that any bad result has been attained by following this system, therefore the Indians are used to it.

Fifth: The commandant shall endeavor, by the means which he considers most suitable, to induce any band of Indians, either of this Spanish district or of the English district, who shall appear before him armed for war, and who shall tell him in the council that they are going on the warpath, to leave the path which they are taking, and return to take that by which they have come in order that they might return to their tribe. This is a case in which it is customary to give them some gift greater than is usual, as that is the only means which can compel them to go back. But if they insist on their determination to continue the road that they were taking, he shall allow them to do so.

Sixth: The presents and food that are given to each band of Indians of the tribes who are accustomed to come to this post shall be given to them in proportion to the number of people who come, according as the commandant may consider proper, for there can be no fixed rule in this matter.

I am of the opinion that the things that I have expressed are the most important. Royal fort of Don Carlos el Señor Principe de Asturias, March 9, 1769. FRANCISCO RUI (rubric).

Note: Every council that is held with the Indians on important matters, especially the decisions reached shall be fully set down in writing, and shall be signed by the interpreter and the persons who are present at it, that is, French or Spaniards, so that it may be a lasting record.

XIII

DELIVERY OF THE FORT OF EL PRINCIPE DE ASTURIAS, SEÑOR DON CARLOS, AND THE BLOCKHOUSE DON CARLOS TERCERO EL REY, MARCH 10, 1769.

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Delivery made of the royal Spanish fort, Don Carlos el Señor Principe de Austurias and of the blockhouse Don Carlos Tercero el Rey, both of which are located at the mouth of the Misuri — the first on the south bank, and the second on the north bank — by the commandant and governor of both posts, Don Francisco Rui y Morales, captain of the company of Luisiana, to the first lieutenant of the same company, Don Pedro Piernas, his successor, in accordance with the command and order of Don Antonio de Ulloa, governor and captain general of this province. The latter remains in charge of their fortifications, works, and quarters that have been constructed, the war supplies and other things which are mentioned in the following inventory, which was made with the assistance of the two storekeepers, Don Francisco Dubreseau and Don Lorenzo Chouriac, on the tenth of March, one thousand, seven hundred and sixty-nine·

The fort is a square eighty feet each way, including the bulwarks. The latter have each seventeen feet in front and six feet flank, Paris measurement. They are all constructed of thick logs in part rounded and in part split through the middle. There are also two doors, one the principal door and the other that of the provisions [*socorro*]. The first is seven feet high and four broad, and is made of *liar*[1] planks of two leaves, with a bar of the same wood on the inside. It has four hinges with their hooks [*machos*], a large iron latch, a lock, bolt and key, all serviceable. The woods of which the stockade is composed are of *liar*, ash, and *ynconis*[2]. There is another double stockade in the interior constructed of small logs of equal height and seven inches in diameter.

The second door is seven feet high and three broad, with large inner bars made of *liar* boards. It consists of one leaf, and is furnished with two hinges, with their hooks, a bolt, and a lock with its key.

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[1] "*Liar*" is for "liard," a French word meaning "poplar." Here, it probably refers to "cottonwood," as is inferred from the name of the settlement "Marais des Liards"— or "Cottonwood swamp" near St. Louis.

[2] Or Yuconis, the name of a wood not in the dictionaries.

A barracks fifty feet long, eighteen wide, and nine high from the ground to the beginning of the roof. It is made of *liar* planks six feet long, and has two slopes, two windows, with two leaves, supplied with four hinges with their hooks, and one latch inside each one. These are on the opposite side of the said barracks [as one enters?] [*or*, at the side or place of the said barracks; orig.: al lado opuesto *or* al lada opuesto]. But there are two other windows which are the chief ones, of the same fashion and furnishings as the preceding. There is one door made of planks of *liar*, with four hinges, with their hooks, and one iron latch inside.

The said barracks are constructed of various woods plastered inside and outside, a loft made of *liar* planks twelve feet long, and one and one-half inches thick, and some of them two. The vicinity of the fireplace is not planked.

A clay fireplace, which needs to be repaired, as it is out of order [*augereada*] in the part where the fires are built.

A stage along the three sides of the barracks, two and one-half feet high and six wide, made of *liar* planks.

Another edifice of equal length and width as the preceding, constructed in the same manner, and divided into four apartments. One serves as a lodging for the governor, and is eighteen feet square. Its floor and loft are of *liar* boards, and it has two windows, one of two leaves with four hinges, with their hooks, and one latch. There is one door with two leaves made of *liar* wood, with four hinges, and their hooks, a lock and key, and a latch.

Another apartment next to the preceding living apartment, which is used as the governor's kitchen. It is eighteen feet long by twelve broad. It is divided by a thin partition of stakes plastered on each side, but has no fireplace, as it had fallen two days previous to the delivery, because of the lack of solidity of the earth of which the said kitchen was constructed. It has one door of two leaves of *liar* planks provided with four hinges and their hooks, a lock and key, and a latch. There is another door leading into the governor's room, of one leaf, which has two hinges and their hooks and a perfect latch-key, one window of one leaf, made of *liar* wood as the others, which has two hinges with their hooks and one latch. The floor and loft are made of *liar* planks.

Another apartment is divided into two parts thus making two small rooms. Both have their loft, and each one is eleven feet long by nine broad. One is used for a powder room and has a small platform three feet high where the powder is placed. The other is used for the storage of various effects of his Majesty. The two rooms have their floors made of *liar* planks, and are divided by a thin partition of stakes. They are located next to the governor's quarters. Each room contains one door of one leaf which has two hinges with their hooks, and a lock and key.

The other apartment, which is used as a storehouse, is eighteen feet long by ten broad. It has a loft which is used as a storehouse for his Majesty's effects. It has a door with two leaves made of *liar* wood, which has four hinges with their hooks, one latch, one lock, and its key; one window of one leaf, with its two hinges and their hooks; one latch; and one beam which supports the loft.

In two bastions there are two large *liar* planks which are nailed to the stockade itself, and are used as a sentry box, together with the ceiling, which is made of boards of the same wood.

One flagstaff erected on one bulwark, with its halliard half worn out, and its pulley.

Five cannons: two with a caliber of six, and the other three of four. All are mounted on gun-carriages, and are set in a battery, with their sights and balls.

Twenty-seven banquettes in the form of landing-places, set up on posts, with a like number of loopholes in the stockade for the muskets.

Opposite the door of succor is the oven, which is constructed of dirt, and not in the best state of service. Its bottom is broken through the continual use that has been made of it. Its diameter is five feet eight inches, and it is set up on posts.

The roof is made of poor unplaned boards of *liar* wood, and is eighteen feet along its two slopes.

On the north shore at the mouth of the Misuri River is a house called a blockhouse. It has the following form: It is eighteen feet square and seven high, and is constructed of round logs of all sorts of wood. Its roof is of unplaned *liar* boards six feet in length, each board being one inch thick. It has one door and one window, which have no ironwork, but small latches of wood.

All the contents of this inventory have been examined and delivered exactly by the above mentioned Don Fransisco Rui y Morales, captain and commandant of the company of Luisiana, military and civil governor of the above named posts, which are located at the mouth of the Misuri River, to his successor, Don Pedro Piernas, first lieutenant of the above mentioned company and the new military and civil governor of the said posts. The above has taken place on the day of the above date in the presence of the two storekeepers—outgoing and entering—below signed, in accordance with the orders of this province. The royal fort of San Carlos el Señor Principe de Asturias, March ten, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine.

FRANCISCO RUI,
LOUBRIL [*sic*] DEBRUSSAU,[1]
LORENZO CHOURIAC,[2]
(three rubrics).

I have taken charge of all the above contained in the preceding inventory. In order that it may so appear and serve as a protection to Don Francisco Rui, my predecessor, I affix my signature in this royal fort of San Carlos el Señor Principe de Asturias, March 10, 1769. PEDRO PIERNAS (rubric).

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[1] This was Pierre Francois des Bruisseau, son of Joseph Le Febvre d'Inglebert des Bruisseau, who received a concession from Gov. Vaudreuil of the exclusive trade on the Missouri in 1744, and established a fort at some point, not certain, but supposed to be near the mouth of the Osage, on the Missouri, and of which fort Baron Portneuf, according to Bossu, was commandant. Afterward he was civil Judge at Fort de Chartres and exercised this function when the country east of the river was ceded to England. Then with St. Ange came to St. Louis, where he died in 1767. His son Pierre François married Margaret de La Ferne, daughter of Pierre Ignace Bardet de La Ferne. He was appointed storekeeper of the Fort Senor Don Carlos when the Spanish storekeeper, Pablo Barrera (see *ante*, p. 39), deserted with 20 soldiers, who were captured by the English at Natchez. Houck's History of Missouri, vol. i, p. 295. But he too became a defaulter and fled to Cahokia. From there he went to New Orleans, probably to settle his accounts. Here he died in 1770. His widow married Joseph Segond, long a leading merchant in New Orleans, who had been a resident of upper Louisiana.

[2] Spanish storekeeper, who came up the river with Piernas. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 30, note 65. He was a native of Catalonia, and the French colonists complained of the insulting language he used toward the French nation. Together with Piernas he was accused of pressing two rowers for the crew of their boat at Natchez, refusing to fix the wages to be paid, simply telling them they must go to work for the King.

XIV

FIRST SPANISH DETAILED STATISTICAL REPORT OF ST. LOUIS AND STE. GENEVIEVE — DATED 1772.

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

[Letter from Piernas:]

Dear Sir:

I have sent Your Lordship the list of habitants of the settlements of San Luis and Santa Genoveva, and the report of the harvest of both villages, of the flour consumed in them, of that left over, as well as of the furs which have been taken down to the capital last year, in accordance with the form indicated in the instructions. I could not send them before, because there was no other opportunity to do so from this post than the present.

May our Lord preserve Your Lordship many years. Your humble and affectionate servant kisses Your Lordship's hand.

Pedro Piernas (rubric).

San Luis, April 1, 1773.

Addressed: "Don Luis de Unzaga."

Note.— It should be always remembered that the Spanish officials so misspelled and transformed many French and English names that it is difficult and often impossible to recognize some of them.

Report showing the number of habitants in the villages of San Luis and Santa Genoveva, in Ylinois, with distinction of class, sex, and age.

[TABLE I.]

		Whites				Slaves		
		Up to 74 years inclusive	From 74 years to 50 years	From 50 years to a greater [*sic* less?] age	General total of whites of both sexes	Capable of work	Incapable of work because of their slight age	General total of slaves of both sexes
Village of San Luis	Males	72	169	7	399	76	40	198
	Females	77	64	10		60	22	
Village of Santa Genoveva	Males	91	145	28	404	111	56	287
	Females	63	69	8		72	48	

General Summary.

	Whites		Slaves	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Village of San Luis	248	151	116	82
Santa Genoveva	264	140	167	120
General total of both villages	512	291	283	202

San Luis, December 31, 1772.

Pedro Piernas (rubric).

Report showing the amount of flour harvested in the past year in this jurisdiction; as well as the quantity and quality of the furs taken down to Nueva Orleans; with note as to the owners of the flour, of the furs, and of the boats in which they were taken to the capital.

[1] Antoine Berard, died in St. Louis, February 14, 1776.

[2] Henri Charpentier, early resident of Ste. Genevieve, Lieutenant of the militia. One of the first land sales of the town made to him by Pierre Aritfone in 1776. His daughter Marie married Don Francisco Vallé, Jr., and his daughter Pelagie married his brother Carlos.

[3] Benito Vasquez was a native of Galicia, Spain, and came to St. Louis with Piernas as a soldier. In 1780 he distinguished himself in the defense of St. Louis and received the especial thanks of Gov. Galvez. He was captain of one of the militia companies of the town and afterward appointed ayudante mayor to instruct the militia in the essentials of military service. August Chouteau succeeded him as captain of his company. In 1774 he married Julia Papin and 12 children resulted from this marriage, viz.: Felicite, who married Antoine Roy in 1792; Julia, intermarried with Louis Coignard; Benito, Jr., who married Clarissa LeFebre; Francois Xavier, who died an infant; A. F. Baronet, married Emily Fausin Parent, and served as lieutenant in the United States Army, accompanied Pike to the Rocky Mountains; Joseph Pepe, who married Marie L. Hebert; Victoire, who married Isaac Septlivres; Marie Anne, died an infant; Hypolite Gillory, who married first Mary LaJeunesse, and then a Miss Tison; Celeste, who married Vincent Bouis; Eulalie, married John Stotts and then Jacques Martin, and finally Pierre Louis. The family thus became connected with nearly all the prominent French families of early St. Louis. Vasquez died in 1810 and his wife in 1825. He was generally known as Benito.

[4] Francisco Vallé, came from Canada to Kaskaskia, and from there moved over to St. Genevieve, when the eastern Illinois country was ceded to England. He was the first Spanish commandant of Ste. Genevieve, and at that time the wealthiest man in western Illinois, or Spanish Illinois country, owned 72 slaves, 30 head of horses, 32 work oxen, 18 cows and his estate at the time of his death was appraised at 193,063 livres, or about 40,000 dollars, then considered an enormous sum. In Kaskaskia he married Marianne Billeron, daughter of Leonard Billeron dit Lafatigue. His children were, Francisco, Jr., Jean Baptiste, Charles, and Joseph, and one daughter who married Louis DuBruil de Villars. His son Joseph was killed by the Indians at Mine la Motte in 1774. Francisco, Jr., succeeded his father as commandant, who died in 1783.

[5] Maybe Menard.

[6] Fortier or Fortain.

[7] Daniel Fagot, a merchant and trader of Ste. Genevieve.

[8] Lacroix.

[TABLE II.]

PACKS OF FURS; FLOUR AND LEAD IN QUINTALS.

F Names of the Owners	Batteaux in which they were taken to the Capital	Sold Tanned	*Idem* Untanned	Beaver	Bear	Wildcat	Fox	Polecat	Wolf Buffalo	Marten	Otter	Deer	Taken to Los Arcos	*Idem* to the City	Lead *Idem*
Antonio Berar[1]..........	By boat [*berga*]......	3												221.00	73.75
Enrique Carpantier[2].....	San Juan............	33	6	19.0								2		370.00	40.00
Benito Vasquez[3]..........	San Antonio.........	129	2	11.0					5			3		24.00	8.50
Francisco Valle[4]..........	San Francisco.......	5												411.75	
Esteban Barre...........	San Pedro...........	20	6	10.0										100.00	313.50
Pablo Segond............	San Juan............	61	9	9.0		7	7	2	26			33			41.00
Monsieur Menan[5]........	By boat [*berga*]......								1				30		
Diego Forten[6]...........	By pirogue..........	11	4	9.5					8			2		70.00	112.50
Monsieur Fago[7]..........	San Daniel..........	81	10	32.0	14				6	260		42	20	4.00	11.00
Monsieur Laxroy[8]........	By pirogue..........	1		3.0								22			
Totals......................		344	37	93.5	14	7	7	2	46	260		104	50	1,200.75	600.25

[TABLE III.]

REPORT OF THE FLOUR HARVESTED.

San Luis and Santa Genoveva	
Names of Harvesters	Total Harvest in Quintals
Rido[9]	21
Ginon[10]	45
Barsalu[11]	33
Gueridenoye[12]	14
Cote[13]	33
Duran	77
Hunot	9
Juan Lamontana	31
Larroche	23
Lasabronice [*sic*]	22
Chat Labe [*sic*]	23
Bequet el Herrero [i. e., Bequette the smith[14]	16
Dechaut	34
Monsieur Tallon[15]	112
Madame Marichal	16
Monsieur Gamache[16]	9
Juan Baptista Langaumar	11
Heriro	22
Joseph Chanciller[17]	33
Cadien [*or Cadieu*]	22
Desene[18]	11
Bequet[19]	2
Picar[20]	16
Rutier[21]	34
Herrero[22]	20
Bisonet[23]	21
Alexandro Ganglon[24]	21
Labrose[25]	18
Moran	15
Labbe[26]	11
Carlos Fivo[27]	11
Conde[28]	46
Gabriel Dodier[29]	38
Madame Dodier[30]	61
Bacane[31]	11
Bombarle[32]	5
Buchart[33]	5
Francisco Henrion[34]	11
Buer[35]	3
Bolse[36]	34
Lami[37]	34
Marchateau[38]	20
Esteban Gaurau[39]	11
La Crois[40]	83
Carlos Dearbas	466
Antonio Abucbau [or Alenchan][41]	50
Peleteau[42]	50
Augustin Anchon[43]	23
Don Francisco Vale[44]	1,000
Alexandro Desel[45]	33
Nicolas Boyer[46]	61
Francisco Berron[47]	33
Claudio Carrion[48]	61
Francisco Salumardiere[49]	61
Juan Baptista Lasourse[50]	33
Andres de Guir[51]	66
Francisco Rompre[52]	23
Antonio Himot[53]	100
Esteban Lalande[54]	37
Luis Trudo[55]	66
Antonio Guel[56]	53
Ca[r]los Valle	166
Enrique Carpantier[57]	261
Francisco Joyeuse[58]	50
Luis Potier	33
Monsieur Rat[59]	33
Joseph Loisee[60]	33
Pedro Aubuchon	61
Diego Lafatiga[61]	50
Francisco Guel[62]	100
Juan Porten	33
Pedro Vidau[63]	14
Juan Baptista Lalande[64]	66
Ypolito Robert[65]	20
Juan Baptista Prat[66]	50
Miguel Placed[67]	83
Domingo Lasourse	100
Maria Lafatiga[68]	34
Widow of Gebeau[69]	33
Widow of Antonio Abuchon[70]	69
Widow of Duchuguet[71]	40

[TABLE III, CONTINUED.]

REPORT OF THE FLOUR HARVESTED.

SAN LUIS AND SANTA GENOVEVA Names of Harvesters	Total Harvest in Quintals	SAN LUIS AND SANTA GENOVEVA Names of Harvesters	Total Harvest in Quintals
Esteban Gremenon	50	Guillermo Dosel	66
Luis Bolduc	66	Pedro Roy	34
Bellemar	13	Juan Baptista Lacrois[73]	100
Joseph Coutonc	33	Luis Marquis[74]	33
Augusto Chatal	66	Luis Boucher	50
Luis Lalande	11	Juan Baptista Garau[75]	50
Andres Vinon[72]	33	[*Blank in Manuscript*]	
Juan Baptista Laroche	66	Rixes Lesource	100
Simon Mardo	66	Carlos Etime[76]	20
Luis Mauricio	100	Juan Jualin	34
Luis Pasalier	50	Simono[77]	12
Andres de Guir	100		

Total of both villages	5,898
Taken to the capital, in quintals	1,200
Idem to Los Arcos, in quintals	50
Used in this village, in quintals	4,823
Left over, in quintals	1,999

NOTE: The flour taken to the capital is from the harvest of the preceding year 1771; and that flour unconsumed is comprised in what is left over from the said year.

San Louis, January 4, 1773. PEDRO PIERNAS (rubric).

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[9] Louis Ride, a farmer, who came to St. Louis in 1764. He was a native of Pointe Claire, Quebec, Canada. His first wife was Veronique Marcheteau, and after her death he married Charlotte la Yacinthe, widow of Louis Hunand, of Ste. Genevieve, and where his name also is found in 1776 in the church records. He had three sons. Died Nov. 6, 1787.

[10] This is very likely Amable Guion, who came to St. Louis from Fort de Chartres in 1765 and was killed in 1780 when St. Louis was attacked by the English and Indians. Married Margaret Blondeau in 1763. They had one son, Amable Guion, Jr., the first child born in St. Louis. At the age of 20 he married Irene Felicite Robert. Amable Guion, sr., was a stone mason. His son Amable, jr., died Sept. 13, 1813.

[11] Nicolas Barsalou, died Dec. 16, 1776.

[12] This must be Louis Marcheteau, dit "Kiery des Noyer" and out of which Piernas constructed the name given in this table. His first wife was Françoise Leduc, and in 1745 lived at Fort de Chartres. One of their daughters, Veronique, married Louis Ride. Another daughter, Elizabeth, married François Bovert in 1761. After the death of his first wife, Marcheteau married Marie Angelique Metivier, widow of Felix de Qurigant, at St. Louis. The Marcheteaus came from Cahokia to St. Louis. They originally emigrated from Canada to Cahokia.

[13] Alexis Cotté was one of the first settlers of St. Louis. Married Elizabeth Dodier, sister of Gabriel, who was the blacksmith of Fort de Chartres. He was a brother-in-law of Jean Baptiste Bequet and Simon Coussat, who both married Dodiers.

[14] Jean Baptiste Bequet, the blacksmith, came with the first settlers of St. Louis.

[15] Roger Taillon, the miller, also one of the first settlers of St. Louis. Or maybe Joseph Taillon, also a miller, and who attained the age of 92 years.

[16] Jean B. Gamache, born in 1733, came to St. Louis with the first settlers, but afterward moved to Carondelet, where he died in 1805, at the age of 72 years.

[17] Joseph Chancellier, born in 1750 and died in 1785 at St. Louis, one of the first settlers. Married Elizabeth Bequet.

[18] Probably Joseph Dechene.

[19] Jean Baptiste Bequet, a miller, of the same name as the blacksmith and who came to St. Louis with him.

[20] Alexis Picard, a native of Montreal, Canada, born in 1711, came to St. Louis with the first emigrants from Fort de Chartres. He married Marie Françoise Riviére there in 1748. He was a farmer and died in St. Louis in 1781, aged 70 years, and his widow died in 1787.

[21] This is very likely Charles Routier, a stone mason, who came to St. Louis from Fort de Chartres in 1765. His daughter married Louis Bissonette. Routier died March 10, 1777.

[22] Herrero means simply "blacksmith" in Spanish.

[23] Louis Bissonette, son-in-law of Routier, died in St. Louis in 1786. A Jacque Bissonette lived in Ste. Genevieve in 1767; married Angelique Lionette Placet in that year.

[24] Alexander Langlois dit Rondeau, came over from Cahokia, when St. Louis was founded, and so also his brother Noel. They were Canadians and probably descendants of Noel Langlois, one of the pioneers of Canada. Alexander married Josepha Lacroix, widow of Jean Baptiste Gouin, dit Champagne. Jos. Tayon, or Taillon, sr., was his nephew.

[25] This was likely Theodore Labrosse.

[26] This is evidently Nicolas Noiset, or Noise, dit L'Abbe, from Cahokia, where he married Marie St. Yves in 1758. His son Jacque married Theresa Beaugeneau. Another descendant was Francois Noise, who testified in 1796 in regard to a fight between François Moreau and his son, a great event in early St. Louis.

[27] Carlos Vigo.

[28] Dr. Andre August Conde, came to St. Louis from Fort de Chartres with St. Ange. He was the post surgeon there under the French government, and a native of Aunis, France. At Fort de Chartres he married Anne Bardet de la Ferne, July 6, 1763. He died in St. Louis in 1768, and after his death his widow married Gaspard Roubien in 1777 and moved from St. Louis to St. Charles. Dr. Conde left two daughters, one named Marianne, married Charles Sanguinette, and the other named Constance married Bonaventura Collel, a native of Barcelona, and at the time a merchant in St. Louis, but after the marriage it was found that Collel had a wife in Spain and he absconded. She afterward married Patrick Lee in 1797.

[29] Gabriel Dodier came from Fort de Chartres to St. Louis. Was the son of Gabriel Dodier, who was the blacksmith there, and after his father's death emigrated to St. Louis with his mother and sisters. His wife was Marie Françoise Millet. From St. Louis he afterward moved to St. Charles. His mother died in St. Louis in 1795.

[30] Widow Dodier, of Gabriel Dodier of Fort de Chartres, already mentioned.

[31] Antoine Riviére, dit Baccane, came to St. Louis in 1764. In 1752 he married Marie Eloy. He drove Madame Chouteau to Cahokia in a French

cart from Fort de Chartres. In 1780 he was captured by the Indians when St. Louis was attacked and taken to Chicago, but escaped. Died at Florissant at the age of 110 years in 1816. Bishop Flaget met him in 1814 and says that he was brought into his presence by his sons who carried him in a chair and that he expressed a lively regret that he was not able to kneel to receive his episcopal blessing.

[32] Likely Peter La Bombard.

[33] Probably Joseph Bouchard or Boucher, the same found to be indebted to Dr. Conde on his list.

[34] Francois Henrion, died in St. Louis unmarried in 1781, came to the place in 1769. Charles Henrion, who died in 1783, was his brother. Mrs. Beaugenou was his sister. Charles also was never married, but before his death he purchased from Louis Barrada his illegitimate mulatto child Marianne, but having made no will litigation resulted and the claim to a part of the inheritance coming before Gov. Miro, he decided that this mulatto child should share equally with the seven Beaugenou children in his estate.

[35] Perhaps Louis Beor, the same as Bear on the list of Dr. Conde, had a grant of lot in St. Louis in 1768.

[36] Pierre Francois de Volsay, who came with St. Ange to St. Louis, was lieutenant and brevet captain of the French force. Married Joachi de Villiers, granddaughter of Madame St. Ange. Died in St. Louis, Sept. 28, 1795.

[37] Michel Lami, born at Montreal, Canada, and settled in St. Louis in 1765. He married the widow Duchouquette in Ste. Genevieve in 1776, and died in 1784, leaving one daughter who married Pascal Leon Cerré, the only son of Gabriel Cerré. His widow, Therese Celeste Barrois, died at the age of 83 years in St. Louis, Feb. 13, 1820.

[38] Probably one of the three Marcheteaus who came across from Cahokia, named respectively Louis, Joseph, and Francois. See note 12.

[39] Garreau?

[40] Jean B. Lacroix, sr., died in Ste. Genevieve in 1781, married Louisa Govreau in Kaskaskia.

[41] Antonio Aubouchon, resided in Ste. Genevieve in 1772. Came over from Kaskaskia, where Joseph Aubouchon was syndic during the French dominion in 1739.

[42] This is no doubt Michael Pelletier, dit Antanga, the Indian name of the Pelletier family, who then resided in Ste. Genevieve.

[43] Augustin Aubouchon, a son of Pierre François Aubouchon.

[44] See note 4.

[45] Alexander Decelle, a descendant of Alexander Decelle Duclos, of Fort de Chartres, who was an ensign in the French troops there and had a grant of an island in the river opposite the fort. From Ste. Genevieve, Alexander Decelle moved to Mine à Breton where he was syndic.

[46] Nicolas Boyer, one of the first settlers of Ste. Genevieve, came over from Kaskaskia.

[47] Probably Barron, or Baron. A Joseph Baron was in command of Fort Joachim in French times, 1754, at Ste. Genevieve. Francisco Barron may be related.

[48] A Louis Carron lived in Ste. Genevieve, but the name of Claude Carrion is not among the residents there.

[49] Francois Lalumundiere, among the early settlers of Ste. Genevieve. In 1777 he was among those that protested against the collection of tithes by the Rev. Father Hilaire.

[50] Jean Baptiste Lasource.

[51] André de Guire, dit La Rose, captain of the militia under the French régime, married the widow of Joseph Baron, and his son Jean Baptiste de Guire married his stepdaughter, Cecile Baron.

[52] François l'Eveque, dit Rompre resided in Ste. Genevieve in 1763; died at the age of 74 in 1784.

[53] Hunot?

[54] Jean Baptiste Lalande, at St. Ann de Chartres in 1721, and no doubt this Esteban is his descendant. One André Laland married in Ste. Genevieve in 1779 and owned property on the Aux Vase in 1791.

[55] Luis Trudeau, a resident of Ste. Genevieve, died at the age of 60, February, 1774.

[56] Probably Gelie. A Louis Gelie was a resident of Ste. Genevieve in 1780. May stand for Diel.

[57] See note 2.

[58] No such name in the Ste. Genevieve records — must be François Janis.

[59] No doubt the father of Julien Ratté, dit Labriere, who in 1825 was one of the oldest residents of Ste. Genevieve and gave evidence before Commissioner Hunt.

[60] A Joseph Loise also at Portage des Sioux in 1800. Alexis Loise, sr., married Elizabeth Beaugenou in 1773 and this Joseph Loise of Portage des Sioux may be his son. The name may also have been spelled Loisel.

[61] Jacque Billeron, dit Lafatigue, came from Kaskaskia. Marianna Billeron married Francisco Vallé, Jr.

[62] François Gellie?

[63] Pierre Veraux, or Verreau, a native of Quebec, Canada.

[64] A Jean Baptiste Lalande married an Indian woman named Ouabanakieoue, at St. Ann de Fort de Chartres and may be the same.

[65] Hypolite Robert, one of the first residents of Ste. Genevieve, interested in Old Mines in 1797 and at Fourche à Courtois in 1799. He was an Englishman and came to Ste. Genevieve from Pennsylvania. Married Marianne Boyer in 1772.

[66] The Pratte family came from Fort de Chartres to Ste. Genevieve. Originally from Montreal, Canada. Jean Baptiste Pratte came to Ste. Genevieve in 1750 and married Marianna Lalumundiere in 1796.

[67] Michel Placit.

[68] Maria Billeron, dit Lafatigue.

[69] Gibeau?

[70] Aubouchon.

[71] Married Michel Lami.

[72] André Vian.

[73] Jean Baptiste Lacroix.

[74] Louis Conac, dit Marquis.

[75] Jean Baptiste Garreau, a native of Canada, died at Ste. Genevieve in 1781.

[76] Charles Aime, a native of Quebec, came from there to Kaskaskia in 1770, married an Osage woman; his son Jean Baptiste in 1802 married Marie Louise Belon at New Madrid, daughter of Joseph Belon, dit La Violette, also a native of Canada.

[77] François Simoneau cultivated land in the Ste. Genevieve big field afterward and may be the same as mentioned in this table.

XV

CENSUS OF PIERNAS FOR 1773.[1]

Report showing the number of habitants in the posts of San Luis and Santa Genoveva, with specifications of class, sex, and age.

		Up to 14 years and inclusive	From 14 to 50 years	From 50 years, upward	General total of whites of both sexes	Useful for work	Useless for work because of their tender years	Total number of slaves of both sexes
		Whites			Slaves			
Village of San Luis	Males......	74	188	23	444	80	25	193
	Females.....	78	71	10		68	20	
Village of Santa Genoveva	Males..	85	128	38	400	108	41	276
	Females	68	74	7		82	45	

GENERAL SUMMARY

	Whites		Slaves	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Village of San Luis.............	285	159	105	88
Village of Santa Genoveva.......	251	149	149	127
General total of both villages	536	308	254	215

San Luis, December 31, 1773.

PEDRO PIERNAS (rubric).

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[1] This report was found among the papers of Cruzat for the year 1777, but is inserted here as the proper place.

XVI

REPORT OF CAPTAIN DON FRANCISCO RUI TO HIS EXCELLENCY CONDE DE O'REILLY[1] CONCERNING THE SETTLEMENTS OF YLINOIS, AND THE MANNER AND CUSTOM OF GIVING PRESENTS TO AND RECEIVING THE INDIANS.

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Among papers from the Island of Cuba.

SYNOPSIS:

October 29. Report furnished by Captain Don Francisco Rui to his Excellency Conde de O'Rely concerning the settlements of Ylinois and of the manner and custom of giving presents to and receiving the Indians.

[Report:]

YOUR EXCELLENCY:

By virtue of your Excellency's order that I set forth what I have noticed in Ylinneses in regard to the manner and custom of receiving and giving presents to the Indian tribes who are wont to come to hold councils with that commandant, I say:

The first village of Ylinneses in the part belonging to the king my master is called Santa Genoveva, or by another name, Misera. It is composed of fifty-five or sixty citizens, or thereabout, and is located on the shore of the Misisipi. A distance of 20 leagues farther up is found another settlement called San Luis, or by another name, Pincourt.[2] There lives the commandant, Monsieur St. Ange. It is located on the same shore of the Misisipi, and has from 65 to 80 citizens. This does not include mention of the voyageurs, because most of the time the latter are either out hunting or trading among the Indian tribes.

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[1] Count Alexander O'Reilly, successor of Ulloa, appointed captain general and governor of Louisiana, August 18, 1769, arrived at New Orleans with a fleet of 24 sails and 2600 picked Spanish troops. One of his first acts upon taking possession of the province was to arrest nine of the prime leaders of the insurrection, who had ordered and decreed the expulsion of Ulloa, and after the form of a trial five of these were sentenced to death and the others to imprisonment for a term of years. No appeal was allowed and the five were duly executed by being shot, as no one, white or black, could be found to hang them on the gallows in the province. Those sentenced to imprisonment were pardoned by King Charles III, but never returned to the colony. O'Reilly remained in New Orleans until October, 1770. During his administration he reorganized the government, established the "Regiment of Louisiana," commissioning many prominent and influential French residents as officers of the same, also promulgated new rules and regulations for granting lands, and upon these rules and regulations many titles to land in upper and lower Louisiana are grounded to this day. He was only 34 years of age when appointed captain general of the province. For further particulars see Houck's History of Missouri, vol. i, page 301.

Five leagues above is the mouth of the Misuri River, on the west side [of the Misisipi]. There one finds the fort of San[3] Carlos el Principe de Asturias, which consists of a square of 76 feet. Its site is sandy, and consequently, its construction is not the most secure, and only obedience to the sealed orders of Don Antonio de Ulloa, governor and captain general of this province at that time could oblige both the engineer Don Guido Dufosal[4] [sic], and myself to erect it in the said site.

On the north bank and at the same mouth is a small barracks under the name of a blockhouse. There lived one corporal and four men. The site on which it is located is inundated during the great currents of the river by eight or nine feet of water. For that reason the large fort was not constructed in that place as I was ordered by the said Señor Ulloa.

All the above country is very fertile. It produces with great abundance whatever is planted. In my time there was a vast harvest of wheat and corn, so that if its habitants were to bestow all their labor on the soil, I am of the opinion that they would have enough flour, if not for all, yet for the greater part of this place [*i.e.* Nueva Orleans].

From the mouth of the Misuri to that of the River of the Big Osages, there is a distance of 80 leagues. The latter river goes to the tribe called by the same name, which is some 70 leagues from the mouth.[5]

From the mouth of the above-named river to the tribe of the Panimahas, is a distance, as is asserted by the voyageurs, of 170 leagues. That is the most distant tribe to which the traders penetrate. From the above-mentioned tribe to that of the Ayetan,[6] one goes overland, and it is estimated to be a voyage of 6 or 8 days. From the tribe of the Ayetan to Nuevo Mejico, the same ones calculate 6 or 8 days.

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[2] Names spelled as found in report.

[3] Error — should be "Don."

[4] Dufosat.

[5] From this it would appear that the "Big Osages" in 1767 had already taken up their principal abode near the western border of the state.

The nations living on the Misuri, who are enumerated in the adjoined report are those who contribute most to the fur-trade, especially the tribe of the Kanzé whose country abounds in castors [*i.e.*, beavers].

From the mouth of the Misuri to the Ylinneses River which flows into the Misisipi on the east side is a distance of 7 leagues. By that river travel the voyageurs on their way to and from Canada.

Forty leagues before one reaches the Ylinneses River is the Vell Riviere [*i.e.*, the Belle Rivière, or the Ohio]. It is a fairly large river, and by it travel the English convoys from Nueva Inglaterra [*i.e.*, New England] to the fort de Chartres.

At a distance of 36 leagues from the above-named river along the Misisipi, one meets the river of Kap[7] on the east side. Two leagues inland from the mouth of that river and located on its shore is the village of the same name. It has an English garrison of one officer and 40 men, while the number of its inhabitants is 60 or 70. From the said village to Prairie du Rocher is five leagues overland, and it has a population of 12 or 15. From Prairie du Rocher to the fort de Chartres is one league overland. The fort is under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Monsieur Wilkins[8] and the garrison numbers 250 men. However, from that number is detached the garrison which is mentioned as being at Kap. It is six leagues from Misera by the river. The above-mentioned fort has opposite it an island which divides the Misisipi into two channels, and it is located on the river. From the above-mentioned fort to the village

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[6] Probably the tribe known to us as the Otoes or Othouez, but who according to Long name themselves Wah-toh-ta-na or *Wa-do-tan* — "which means those who copulate." Long's Expedition, vol. ii, page 61.

[7] Should be "Kaw" or Kaskaskia. Out of the words "au Kaw" originates the name of "Okaw," a name by which the river is now generally known.

[8] Lieutenant-Colonel John Wilkins, of the 18th Royal Irish, with his command of seven companies, came to Fort de Chartres shortly before Capt. Rui passed down the river to New Orleans, coming down the Ohio River from Fort Pitt. In 1755 he was appointed captain of the 55th foot, then major of the 60th Royal Americans and 1768 lieutenant-colonel. He acted as commandant and governor of the English Illinois country, until 1771, when he was suspended and returned to England. In 1775 left the army. He appears to have been very unpopular in the Illinois country and it was charged that he was guilty of being engaged in land speculation and misappropriating public funds.

XVII

of Caoray[8] it is some 14 leagues overland by wagon road, and from the village to the Misisipi is a distance of one-fourth league.

The Indian tribes who are accustomed to come to hold council and to receive presents from the commandant of Ylinneses are the ones noted in the adjoined report. There can be no fixed rule in the method of making presents to them, as they are given according to circumstances, in addition to various facts which mediate among them, those facts being different one from another. In summer especially, there is a great concourse of them who come, and consequently, one can not fix beforehand the amount of provisions [that must be given to them]. Of the latter I have only provided them with bread and corn.

Francisco Rui (rubric).

Nueva Orleans, October 29, 1769.

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[8] Cahokia.

XVII

REPORT OF DON PEDRO PIERNAS TO GOV. O'REILLY, DESCRIBING THE SPANISH ILLINOIS COUNTRY, DATED OCTOBER 31, 1769.

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Among papers from the Island of Cuba.

YOUR EXCELLENCY:

Sir: In obedience to your Excellency's order which advised me to write an exact and authorized description of the country of Ylinoeses, its products, settlements, the number of its inhabitants, their manner of living and trade, its tribes of wild Indians, their customs and trade, and all the other things that conduce to the exact knowledge of that district, I execute that command with as much information as I could acquire in the short time of my residence in that country, as follows:

Having been promoted from the settlement and fort of San Luis in Natches which was under my charge, to that of San [Don] Carlos el Principe, located at the mouth of the Misuri in order to take charge of it, by the order of the governor, Don Antonio de Ulloa and his appointment of August 5th, of the past year, 1768, I took passage in one of the bateaus of the king, which was commissioned on September 4th of that year for that object, and for the purpose of taking the presents of the Indians. On the 26th of November of the same year, I arrived at the place called Les Isles à la Course,[1] a distance of 30 leagues from the first French settlement of Ylinoeses. It was impossible to pass that site because the river had suddenly frozen and the boat had been caught in the ice, so that in order to guard against its inundations and place the effects which it was transporting in safety, I ordered them discharged and a winter camp made until navigation was open. But since the food was scarce for the subsistence of a long duration, and since I was ignorant of the length of my stay in that desert, I determined that half the crew should go overland, leaving to the rest all the provisions, so that neither the one nor the other party should experience the foreseen necessity. After placing the boat in safety, and its cargo in the care of the storekeeper, and for its guard one sergeant, one soldier, and the strongest of the sailors, I set out with the other contingent of the sailors for Misera[2] on the 6th of December. I arrived there on the 18th with all my men, although most of them were disabled with the frost, cold, and other discomforts which were offered by an impassable road in 13 days of travel.

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[1] Race Islands between Cape Girardeau and Cairo.

When I arrived, I quickly sent provisions, and although they reached the camp on the 6th of January of this year, when the river began to become free of ice, the boat could not be made ready and they could not ascend or reach Misera until the 29th, because of the continual ice freshets and the storms which rendered it impossible. The boat was repaired in this village, and awaited the high waters in order to make the ascent easy for us. That was on the 6th of February, and on the 30th I reached Paincour, called San Luis, the second French settlement, which is 20 leagues from the first. On the 6th of March, I entered the Fort of San[3] Carlos el Principe, which is constructed at the entrance of the Misuri River, and which was my destination. On the 10th of the same month, the said fort was delivered to me. Its commandant the infantry captain, Don Francisco Rui, with the due formalities, having given me charge of the post; and while I was examining also the inventories prepared in accordance with the instructions given me of the effects of the king, namely, the war supplies, and other things which were in charge for the time being of the French storekeeper who was residing there as they had been delivered to him by the Spaniard appointed for that purpose, I received the enclosed letter on the 19th of the above-named month, which was dated October 30, 1768. It contained the order of the said governor, Don Antonio Ulloa, to evacuate it, as soon as the French veteran or militia troop which was to occupy it should appear. On the following day the commandant of that region for his Christian Majesty, Monsieur de St. Ange with another subordinate officer named Monsieur Bolsai,[4] and some soldiers and habitants of Paincourt, having presented himself, and having shown me the orders of his commandant-general corresponding to those which I had, I delivered the above-named fort, and its dependencies to the above-mentioned Monsieur St. Ange, with the ceremonies fitting for the occasion. I made the most complete and exact inventory of the fortifications, the war supplies, the ammunition, and all the other effects contained inside and outside the above-mentioned post, as appears from the authorized document of the said delivery, which I placed in the chief commandant's office of this army and province and the certification of Monsieur St. Ange, which I include.

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[2] Ste. Genevieve.

[3] Don.

[4] De Volsay.

On the 28th when the inventories were concluded, as well as the other instruments, I evacuated the fort, with all its garrison, workmen, and other employes, with due order and honors, and transferred myself to the village of Paincourt. Having remained there a few days for the adjusting of accounts and the preparation of food, there occurred the novelty of the justice or council of that settlement trying to lay an embargo on the effects of the king, and on some of the persons of the Spanish garrison in my charge, at the instance of three or four private resident traders, in order that they might collect the debts contracted by a Spanish storekeeper who had fled beforehand for the supplies of food which they had furnished for the sustenance of the fort, and which the above-said storekeeper received on his Majesty's account, and had not satisfied. Their demand having been presented by those persons to the council, the latter determined to execute the embargo, especially on the property of the above-mentioned storekeeper. They intended to sell those goods in order to apply them to the royal treasury, as the storekeeper was a defaulter. Since he contracted that debt during the command of Don Francisco Rui, the embargo, the satisfaction of their notes, and the presentation to the council, were intimated to him by the [required] judicial terms, with the penalty of having it executed if he failed to do so, fining him, and other penalties which were mentioned by the instruments which were presented, and which he retains in his possession. And although the said captain protested that he had nothing to do with it, nevertheless he obeyed the summons, and appeared before the council. That body, notwithstanding that they were informed that all the effects belonged to his Majesty and that no satisfaction could be given for the notes of the storekeeper until they were proven and an order therefor was received, decreed the execution of the embargo. It would have been effected, had I not opposed it, and complained of their sentence to Monsieur St. Ange, as first judge of the council and military superior. I alone recognized him and directed myself to him, so that as such he might protect our right, sustain the right of the Spanish nation, and have the respect due the interests of the monarch guarded, of which I made him responsible. Thereupon he suspended the recommendation of the council, and the premeditated embargo ceased, and the sale of the effects was permitted on the king's account, or their transportation.

Among the other habitants of that settlement, as well as in that of Misera, no innovation occurred. All signified their satisfaction with the method of procedure and the treatment that they have experienced from the Spaniards. They express just regret for their evacuation in that region and disapprove the cause which produced it, and the humble habitants certify their submission to the Spanish dominion, by not desiring to follow the example of the mob of the capital, by whom having been incited, according to Indians, they despised their writs, preserving ever until my departure on the 24th of April, their spirit of subordination.

Before effecting my departure, the debts contracted by the royal treasury among the habitants who were creditors for the supplies of food and other effects for the sustenance of the troops and employes of the fort, both during the time of the command of my predecessor, and that of my own residence were paid. I left them all satisfied for whatever the royal treasury owed them, and that method, I believe, strengthened in the habitants the excellent readiness which has been experienced and which they have always shown to contribute to the needs of that garrison with their products, thus giving the lie to the badly formed opinion that the scarcity of money which has always been experienced in the colony from the beginning of their entrance there, has produced against the nation.

The country of Ylinoeses is, in general, healthy and fertile, its climate delightful, and suitable for all sorts of plants, fruits, and grains. In some parts it is mountainous, and in others level. It contains vast prairies fit for the pasturage of cattle, and cleared level plains for farming. With but little cultivation those fields produce copious harvests, especially wheat, maize, cotton, and all sorts of vegetables in which the largest part of the crops of its settlement consists. Its territory abounds in game of all kinds, and hunting is the chief occupation of its inhabitants; for from the flesh they obtain their food, and from the skins their profits, although at the cost of some work and industry, in order to provide them with the other necessities of life. The sole and universal trade consists in furs. In order to establish it, they enter with the permission of the commandant-general of the colony among the savage tribes, with whom they trade, giving those tribes merchandise in exchange for the skins, by which they receive very great profit.

The settlements of the French district, to-day Spanish, are reduced to two. The first is Misera, or Santa Genoveva. It is 345 leagues distant from Nueva Orleans at high water, and one-third more at low, because of the bays and windings of the river. The site of that village is flat and swampy, especially during the inundations of the river. It has extensive fields and meadows suitable for all kinds of crops. The chief crop is wheat, which is yielded abundantly. It could be obtained in greater quantity if there were more farmers and its habitants applied themselves. The number of the habitants is 60 or 70. Counting individuals of both sexes, white and black, great and small, the population will amount to more than 600 persons. The houses are separated and scattered, and for that reason the village appears of greater extent and the number of habitants greater. There are some who are wealthy enough to cultivate their lands, and raise cattle, hogs, and horses, and have a considerable number of slaves. The most wealthy of all is Monsieur Bale,[5] an habitant who abandoned his possessions in the English district when it was ceded, in order to take up citizenship in the French district. He maintains himself there, and is the principal one who furnished all the provisions and effects that have been asked for the sustenance of the troops, and the other Spanish employes during all the time that they have remained there.

This settlement has as commandant a retired French officer called Monsieur de Rocheblave,[6] who is but little affected toward the Spanish nation, none at all to the French, and hates the English for their ungovernable and turbulent nature. In his charge also are political matters, with subordination to the commandant and the council of Paincourt. But since that council is not recognized by anyone, its orders and provisions are not obeyed in the country, for each person lives as he pleases, and does whatever he premeditates. License, laxity of conduct, and vice are the characteristics of its inhabitants. Religion is given but scant respect, or to speak more correctly, is totally neglected, whether because of the abandonment of the obligations which distinguish a Catholic from a gentile given over to every excess without fear of punishment imposed by the laws, as they have no law and no justice which restrains them, or for lack of a spiritual minister to correct, instruct, and withdraw them from the license in which they are living, forming a small rabble, which is in no wise different from the very savages.

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[5] Don Francisco Vallé.

[6] Philip de Rocheblave — afterward removed to Kaskaskia, where he was in command when the place was captured by Gen. Geo. Rogers Clark; sent as prisoner to Williamsburg, where he broke his parole and fled to New York; attained the rank of Colonel in the British Army. The Ste. Genevieve church records show that several of his children were baptized there — one son named Henri, in 1774. Also see Houck's History of Missouri, vol. i, p. 340.

Besides the habitants who are settled, there are other unattached persons who are wanderers from will, who serve but to increase the excess and to consume uselessly the products of the country. For although they are wont to employ themselves from four to six months in the hunt, they quickly waste whatever they gain in revelling and scandalous chambering as is notorious. They do not apply themselves to agriculture, or to any other work, but are forever wandering; and although they have not at times the means for their sustenance and vices, as they find men to back them, who will supply them on account of the future trade, they come out on top and always live in idleness, although it is known that they corrupt the native youth by their evil example.

There are three or four among the chief habitants, who are associated with a like number of the English district; and although the gain is common, they conceal that corresponding to them in particular, making a pretense that they do not have any, to the prejudice of the legitimate native traders who engage in their true business. Permission is solicited in Nueva Orleans for the business of the above-mentioned company, as they are habitants settled in Misera, in order that they might lade their merchandise (mainly wine and brandy), and they, being considered such habitants, are given the permission. But their purpose is to send those things to the English district, which is better supplied for this means and more conveniently than our district, whose abused tolerance obliges the habitants of this district to have recourse for their effects to that district. By that means they get the grains, flour, and other products for what price they wish, and the English get all the doubled profits and have established commerce with Nueva Orleans to their advantage without it being perceived because of the management and conduct of such men.

A like thing is found at the saltworks. These are located in our district one league below Misera. It is a site composed of four or five houses, which were built by some industrious habitants for the working of the salt and its storing, and were sufficient for the supply of the country. But at present those houses belong to the above-mentioned company, and they distribute the product, and as such owners and distributers, they provide the English district with the salt at a lower rate than that for which our district obtains it, and the benefit is usurped by the continued and sensible exportation practiced by those who manipulate the mines.[7]

Only in the time when the Indians organize their hunting parties do some of the villages established in the proximity of that settlement, both in the French domain and in the English, as it is a passage for them which they recognize to the places which they know to be advantageous for the hunt, assemble there. Those Indians are almost all domesticated, little to be feared, and useful, because they trade in flesh, oil, and skins, which they exchange for effects or merchandise with the habitants, and are thus provided with their necessary sustenance. If the brandy trade were rigorously forbidden them, one could do with them whatever he pleased. But with the abuse of that trade the Indians are found to be importunate, insolent, and perhaps murderous, because of the intoxication to which they are inclined. During their stay at Misera, which is only in passing, they are generally supplied with their sustenance at the expense of the king. Monsieur Balé is in charge of this under the orders of the commandant, Monsieur de Rocheblave [sic].

Twenty leagues above Misera is located the village of Pancourt or San Luis the second and modern settlement. Its situation is high and pleasant, being built on rocks and not in any danger of inundation. Behind it is a higher plain which dominates the village and the river, and appears to be suitable for the construction of a fort for the defense of the troops which are destined for that part; for, if they were insulted at all or there were any war, they could defend themselves as they would have the village and its territory under shelter. The garrison could be supported from the products of the territory without any need of other aid. The number of citizens is somewhat greater than that of Misera, but there are less people in it as there are not so many slaves; for as it is the last settlement that has been formed, they have not yet acquired the means to have slaves, notwithstanding its habitants apply themselves industriously to the cultivation of the fields, which are excellent, of vast extent, and produce much wheat. If they continue with the energy that they have hitherto exhibited, they will soon obtain their increase and will make the settlement one of the most populous, extensive, well managed, and respectable of all that have been established.

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[7] Referring to Daniel Blouin, then a leading merchant of Kaskaskia, who prior to 1767 owned these salt works. In that year, however, he sold the property to Jean Datchurut. Blouin was a son-in-law of Jos. Chauvin dit Charleville. More than likely Datchurut and Blouin were secret partners, thus operating on both sides of the river as stated by Piernas.

Trade, looseness of conduct, the abandonment of life, the dissoluteness and license, are the same in all things as those of Misera, without any difference at all.

Monsieur de St. Ange, an old French captain, is recognized as commandant of this settlement and of all the district of Ylinoeses; but not his authority, for lack of military strength, for he has no troops and his orders and provisions are frustrated by their nonobservance by several transient traders, who are absorbing the country by dint of loans and are inspiring the other humble and settled habitants with their opposition, although the latter are of a different nature and sufficiently easy to manage with regularity and submission.

The civil and military department is governed by a council composed of four useless habitants and one attorney, a notorious drunkard, called La Bussiere,[8] who is the substitute of the one who was attorney-general in the superior council of this colony. Although the common welfare ought to be the concern of all, they only look after their own individual interests. And although the good-for-nothing Monsieur St. Ange is the one who as first judge presides, whatever is determined by the fancy of those counselers is authorized and executed through the good intention of the latter's respectable old age.

As this has been, and is, the place of residence for the commandant the near and distant Indian tribes, both those of the Misisipi River, and those of the Misuri and its branches, whose names are contained in the enclosed report, gather there. The season for their greatest gathering is during the months of May and June. At that time they descend the rivers in numerous parties with their traders to declare the furs. That is their first object, although it is accompanied with the condition of the pretext of visiting the chief and ratifying the friendship that has been established. All the time of their stay provisions are furnished them at the expense of the king, those provisions being reduced to bread and corn, for they provide themselves with meat; and when they depart one has to make them, as it is the established custom, a present, which is proportional to the number of each tribe. Most of the tribes, with the exception of some remote and distant tribes of the Misuri are accustomed to the use of brandy, and prefer a small portion of it to any other present of merchandise even of four times its value. If the savages are treated with kindness, reasonably, and with consideration, they are reasonable when in their right mind. But when drunk they are importunate, beggars, insatiable, and tiresome. Yet the commandant must always be attentive to them, listen to them with patience, compose the differences and discords among the various tribes, sometimes make rulings and mediate in their peaces, with persuasions, sometimes with firmness, and most always with presents. Consequently, they are generally costly. But they cannot be so, if the presents are distributed little by little and with equity. That depends in part on a disinterested and vigilant commandant, a loyal interpreter, and a righteous storekeeper, who prefer the service and interests of the king to their own.

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[8] Joseph la Busciere, notary and King's procureur, succeeded Joseph Lefebvre Des Bruisseau, as civil judge, when he died in 1767. La Busciere resided in St. Louis 25 years, and then removed to Cahokia where he died April 29, 1792. He took his notarial record with him and it is now in Belleville, Illinois. All the early land grants made by St. Ange are in his handwriting. He married Catherine Vifvarenne at the village of Ste. Phillipe — perhaps a daughter of Pierre Wivarenne, of Picardy, France, and his wife Marie Ann Rondeau, who dwelt at Old Mines, in 1748, in what is now Washington county. This Wivarenne, or Vifvarenne, was no doubt a miner who came with Renault.

The Misuri River empties into the Missisipi five leagues above Paincourt. At the confluence of those rivers is located the Spanish fort of San [Don] Carlos el Principe, at the order and arrangement of Governor Don Antonio de Ulloa in order that the illicit trade might be avoided and to prevent the English from establishing their trade in that part with the tribes comprehended in that distance.

In the short time of my residence in that post there came to hold discussions the tribes of the Osages, Ayoua [*i.e.*, Iowas], Kikapu [*i.e.*, Kickapoos], Masasten [*i.e.*, Mascoutens?], Pou, Putatami, [*i.e.*, Pottawatomies], Utoa [*i.e.*, Ottawas?], Putchicagu [Piankeshas?], Renad [*i.e.*, Foxes], and the others of the vicinity attracted both by the novelty of the arrival of a new commandant in order to receive their present which it is necessary by established custom to give them for that reason, and those with which the traders impose on them, being assured that they are indispensable to them, and in order to benefit the habitants of the settlements with the goods and products of the hunt. And although the latter are benefited, it is the king who bears the expense of the Indians' maintenance during their stay in the village, and he makes no profit from it. Since Don Antonio de Ulloa knew this, he ordered me to arrange for the gathering of the tribes for any matter, as well as the distribution of the annual presents, and the discussion, etc., in the abovementioned fort of San Carlos, where, as it was distant from the settlements, their stay would be but in passing, and, consequently, there would be a great saving of food, whose consumption has hitherto been considerable, and therefore costly.

Having settled upon the method and manner prescribed by the instructions delivered to me by Don Francisco Rui in regard to the management of the tribes, which are the same as those found in the documents which I enclose, I shall try to fulfil the duties of my post, without any change in the established practice, so long as I continue in this employ.

The principal settlements of the English domain are located, one opposite ours of Misera, with the name of Oka,[9] and although it is one league distant from the river, on a small river whence it is named, the boats go there to discharge their cargoes. At a distance of five leagues above is located the settlement and fort de Chartres. It is constructed of stone, and is remarkable for its size and large garrison; for the English usually maintain there a regular regiment of troops. But at that time they only had one battalion. The commandant of that battalion was also civil commander of all the British district. Another settlement called Kaó[10] is located somewhat lower, or almost opposite Paincourt. It resembles all the others which exist in the English district, whose inhabitants are French habitants who settled there before the cession made by France. At that time there were many of them, but now they have become less, because many of their families have left them to settle in our district. From those families have been formed and increased the settlements of Misera and Paincourt. In those settlements I have acquired during my short stay the information that I present to your Excellency, in obedience to the orders which your Excellency considered it advisable to give me.

PEDRO PIERNAS (rubric).

Nueva Orleans, October 31, 1769.

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[9] Kaskaskia.

[10] Cahokia.

XVIII

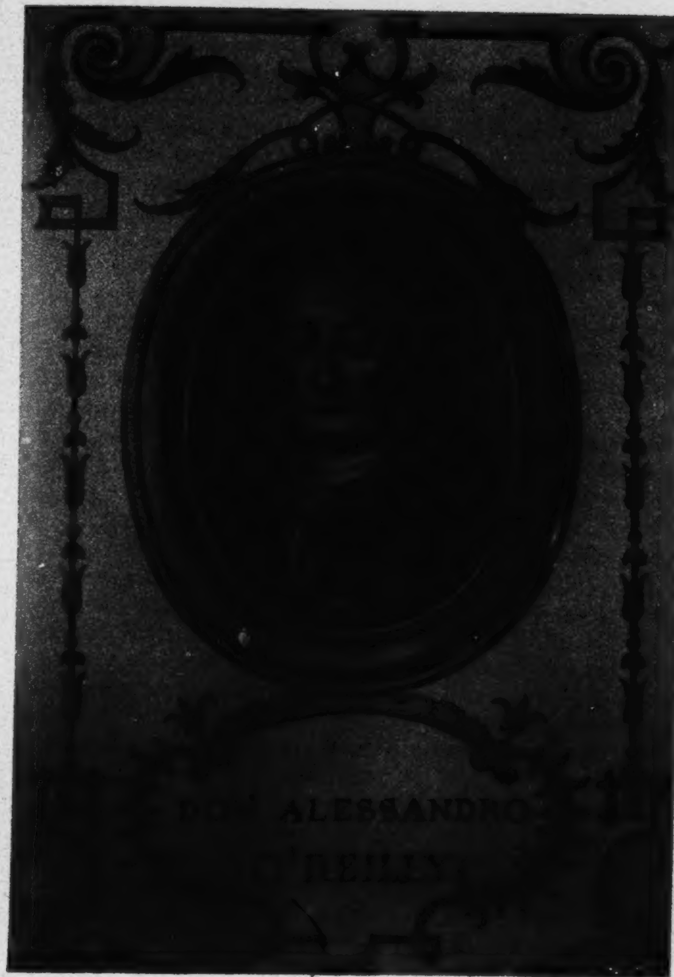
GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS OF O'REILLY TO THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF THE VILLAGES OF ST. LOUIS, SAN GENEVIEVE, ETC., DATED FEBRUARY 17, 1770.

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Among papers from the Island of Cuba.

Instructions which are to be strictly observed by the lieutenant-governor of the village of San Luis, San Genevieva, and all the districts of the Misuri River and the district of the Ylinneses belonging to His Majesty.

1. The great distance from this capital to the Ylinneses demands so much greater prudence in the discharge of its command. There are three primary objects to be looked after, and the lieutenant-governor shall attend to them with special vigilance. These are that the dominion and government of His Majesty be loved and respected; justice administered promptly, impartially, and according to the laws; and that commerce be protected and increased as much as possible. For the attainment of such important ends, he who commands ought to make well known with his words and deeds how greatly the King desires the happiness of his vassals; the express orders which he takes to distinguish and heed good persons in everything that is licit; and to prosecute those who disturb the public tranquillity or ruin their creditors by their bad faith and faithless conduct.

2. The lieutenant-governor shall preserve, so far as possible, the greatest harmony with the English. If any complaint shall arise concerning the vassals of his Brittanic Majesty, he shall make exact report thereof in writing. He will go for satisfaction to the English commandant, and if his reports (which ought always to be very well considered and well-founded) should not be heeded, he will send to the governor-general of the province, all the documents, letters and replies, which prove the report which is made to him, so that the latter may enact what ought to be done and take for himself those measures which are advisable.


DON ALESSANDRO
O'REILLY

From a History of Louisiana, by Alcée Fortier.
By permission of Manzi, Joyant & Co., Paris and New York.

3. If any excess shall be committed within the English territory by any vassal of His Majesty, or any insult to those who voyage upon the Misisipi River, the lieutenant-governor shall perform prompt justice; and to all the just demands which the English commandant shall make, he shall give full and prompt satisfaction, but without failing in the formalities provided by the laws.

4. The lieutenant-governor shall do his utmost so that the Indians, who live in the territory of the king, shall not cause any trouble to, or extortion on, the English who navigate the Misisipi River; and so that they do not cross the said river to offend the vassals of His Brittanic Majesty; and in all respects he shall incline them to peace and humanity towards the English, and even with the other Indian tribes. For this purpose, he shall tell them that our religion and the fidelity of our friendship never permits us to cause any injustice or harm to friends such as are the English.

5. In all licenses which the lieutenant-governor shall issue, either for trade with the Indian tribes or for hunting, he shall expressly forbid those same licensees any entrance into the territory of His Brittanic Majesty, for any reason whatever; or the least offense to be caused said vassals who voyage on the Misisipi River.

6. Any trader, who shall take goods from the English, or who shall sell them furs, or any other thing, shall have his property embargoed, and his cause shall be prosecuted with due formality. All those who engage in commerce in Ylinneses must supply themselves with the goods which they use in this capital [*i.e.*, Nueva Orleans] and must send their effects to it. This punctuality and good faith will extend commerce more with general benefit to the vassals of the king.

7. No trader shall be permitted to enter the villages of Indians who inhabit His Majesty's territory, unless the commandant has good reports concerning his conduct; but the commandant shall not refuse his license to anyone who shall be recognized as an honest man. For no reason at all shall he suffer or authorize any monopoly, or concede any exclusive rights. He shall advise all the traders to uniformly proclaim among the Indians the mildness and equity of our government, and the happiness resulting therefrom to the vassals.

8. Every trader, on his return from the Indian tribes, must present the lieutenant-governor with exact information of all things among those tribes; and if anyone be found lacking in truth he

shall not be permitted to again enter among the Indians nor to trade with them again.

9. The lieutenant-governor shall cause the Indians to know the greatness, clemency, and generosity of the King. He shall tell them that they will receive the same presents annually; that His Majesty desires their happiness; and that they ought never to obey, or even believe, other word than that of the Great Chief, governor-general of the province, communicated by the officer in command of that post by the King's order. He shall exhort them, by an offer of a good reward, to arrest and take prisoner any trader or fugitive, who shall scatter want of confidence for their true Father among them, or the [Spanish] nation which merits among all nations of the world the reputation of being magnanimous, pious and just. In proof of it, he shall show the order of the King, to the effect that no Indian slave shall be allowed in his states — not even those of hostile tribes.

10. The lieutenant-governor shall be very careful that all Indians who go to San Luis and San Genevieva shall experience good treatment and receive a just price for their furs and any other articles which they bring for sale; and in the barterings which take place or effects that they buy, good faith shall be kept with them. By so doing, they will find greater benefit in our trade and will provide themselves with their necessities without any expense to the King, and the English will not take away the gain of the trade that ought to belong to us. The advantages of trading with the Indians with equity and kindness are well proven in this city where, from the time of my arrival alone, the annual present was given them on the King's account, when the chiefs of each nation hastened to compliment me. Daily Indian canoes, laden with food, skins, and other trifles, which they sell publicly at their just price, arrive, and the Indians buy afterwards, by means of them, what they need in the shops and stores and go away well satisfied.

11. Having been informed that, when the chiefs and Indians come to San Luis to receive the presents, annually destined for them by His Majesty, in the day or two which they generally stay in said village, they are supplied with bread and some little rice on the King's account, yet this expense will amount to very little, if the lieutenant-governor take care to despatch them promptly, and that this pretext may not serve unduly to tax the King more than is absolutely necessary. The Indian will accept whatever is given

him, but good treatment does not at all conduce to greater expense, and to furnish them the help which may be necessary in exchange for their goods is what most assures their friendship and favors trade, and the Indians themselves.

12. The presents which the lieutenant-governor is taking at present (and which will be the same as those which are sent every year to the Ylinneses), are very plentiful, and well distributed will leave the Indian tribes, whom it is advisable for us to gratify, nothing to desire. But since it is advantageous to distribute part of said present to the Indian tribes on the Belle Riviere [*i. e.*, Ohio] so that they may navigate the Misisipi River with greater safety, in this the present lieutenant-governor shall order what he finds most advisable for the service. For that purpose, before showing his present, he shall make the most exact investigation of the tribes whose friendship is of interest to us, and in proportion to their number, location, and other advantages, he shall distribute the presents that he carries among them, and will send to the governor an exact and detailed copy of the distribution which he shall make, being careful that, for no reason, that distribution exceeds the amount of the articles that he carries.

13. The welfare of the service, the honor of the officers, and the opinion of our troops, demand that the troops be kept under good discipline. The lieutenant-governor shall give especial attention to this. It is very necessary that the soldier recognize that he is not prejudiced in his interests, that his officers care for him, and protect him in everything that is just, but that his faults will always be punished according to the ordinance. If such is not done the result will be murmurings, complaints, anger, and relaxation in discipline which would bring about danger of insubordination.

14. The lieutenant shall remain in the village of San Luis Genovieba with one corporal and seven soldiers. In the Fort of the Misuri there shall be one sergeant with six soldiers; and after this post is firmly established the corporals can alternate in its command. The commandant of the fort shall be ordered to examine all the boats which enter and go out by the river, and all those that he shall find without a license from the lieutenant-governor, he shall send to the village of San Luis, so that they may be proceeded against according to justice.

15. The detachment of the Fort of Misuri must go from San Luis by land in order to provide themselves with the food that they

need. They must be changed with the necessary frequency, so that the discipline of the troops may not become relaxed, and so that those commanding them may not give themselves to illicit industries.

16. The detachment of the Ylinneses shall consist, at present, of one first sergeant, one second sergeant, one drummer, three first corporals, two second corporals, and twenty-five soldiers. The pay of these men shall be the same as that received here. Each sergeant shall leave in this city two pesos per month for his clothing; every corporal and soldier one peso; they shall now receive, on the account of their pay, one new suit of clothes, and every time that they are clothed anew, their account shall be formally adjusted, so that if the retention of the money that is made exceeds the cost of the clothing which they receive the balance may be paid to them in cash.

17. Two pairs of shoes, two pairs of stockings, and two shirts, shall be sent annually to the Ylinneses for each soldier, so that they may have these garments which are charged to their current expense with all possible convenience.

18. The rent of the house which has served as a barracks for the troops at San Luis is very high. The lieutenant-governor shall consider this matter with the earnestness that it deserves and shall inform the governor-general of the rent to which he shall have agreed, and what he shall consider necessary for the comfort of the troops; and the same shall be done in the village of San Genevieba; and there shall be in each barracks a room which shall be used as a prison for the troops.

19. Every three months, the lieutenant-governor shall make a report of his detachment, inclusive of officers. He shall consider the affiliation of the sergeants, drummer, corporals, and soldiers in the fort on that day. At the bottom of the report, he shall report the vacancies occurring in the three months last passed, the names of those who caused the vacancies, and the day of their death or desertion. In case any officer is absent because he has come to this capital or gone to another post, such shall be mentioned at the bottom of the aforesaid relation, which must serve for review. He shall also mention the day on which anyone has been promoted to sergeant, and of any officer who shall have taken possession of his post. At the end of the aforesaid relation shall be a sworn certification to the effect that whatever is expressed therein is true, and such certification shall be signed by two sergeants, and sub-lieutenant of

the company. The lieutenant-governor shall make another certification in which, on his word of honor, he shall affirm the existence of said troops and that everything expressed by the preceding relation is true. All those who shall have affixed their signature shall be responsible on their honor and employment that the Royal Treasury is defrauded in no way by the said document.

20. A militia company shall be created in San Luis. Its captain shall be Don Juan Baptista Martinez;[1] its lieutenant, Don Juan Luis Lambez;[2] its sub-lieutenant, Don Eugenio Pane.[3]

Another company of militia shall be created in San Genevieva. Its captain shall be Don Francisco Valle;[4] its lieutenant, Don Francisco Charpentier; and its sub-lieutenant, Don Francisco Duchouquette.[5] Each one of these companies shall have one first sergeant, two second sergeants, four first corporals, and four second corporals; and the number of soldiers that each village shall be able to include, this militia including all the men capable of bearing arms, between the ages of fifteen and fifty years.

21. The said companies having been created, the lieutenant-governor shall send the muster of each company, which shall give the name, age, nationality, height, and trade of each one.

22. The necessary enlistment in the militia must not be at all burdensome on the citizens. Each one shall continue in his trade, and no hindrance shall be offered him in leaving when it is advisable, but the men shall have to show the fitting respect for their officers and prompt obedience to their orders. They shall be assembled on Sundays when the weather permits, and the lieutenant-governor shall assign some good sergeants and corporals of those with him to drill each company, to train them in quarterwheeling and firing. But he shall avoid in these exercises the wasting of the King's powder. All the discipline and treatment of this troop shall be so mild that they will be greatly satisfied with the new formation.

23. In all political matters the lieutenant-governor shall be

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[1] See *post*, p. 89, note 6.

[2] Jean Louis Lambert, a merchant of Ste. Genevieve.

[3] Eugenio Pourée, one of the early merchants of St. Louis, and in command of expedition form St. Louis to Fort St. Joseph in 1781. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 42.

[4] As to the Vallé family see Houck's History of Missouri, vol. i, p. 349.

[5] An Indian trader; came over from Fort de Chartres; a native of Montreal, Canada. Married Celeste Barrois at Kaskaskia in 1757; removed from Kaskaskia to Ste. Genevieve; ancestor of the Duchouquettes of Missouri.

ruled by the laws of His Majesty set forth in the printed instructions which shall be given to him; and by those special instructions which accompany them and which are signed by my assessor, Dr. Don Manuel de Urrutia, and by the advocate, Don Felix Rey, who made them by special commissions from me in accordance to the laws, and in consideration of the great distance and particular circumstances of the district of the Ylinneses.

24. In each one of the villages of San Luis and San Genevieba there must be a prison in which to keep the prisoners, and a jailer to look after them. The lieutenant-governor shall assemble the chief habitants of each village and, after conferring with them, shall take means for the building of said prison. It shall not impose any great burden on the habitants. He shall announce it as a public work, but if the lieutenant-governor finds that troublesome [to the habitants], he shall inform the governor-general of the province thereof, sending to him the opinion of the abovesaid meeting and his special report of whatever shall be advisable for the good result of the resolution.

25. The lieutenant-governor shall not permit any person to establish his residence in the territory of the Ylinois belonging to His Majesty without having permission therefor in writing from the governor-general of this province. Also he shall not allow English merchants or traders to enter that territory, or the vassals of His Majesty to have any communication with them.

26. The lieutenant-governor shall write to the governor-general of the province on every occasion that offers. He shall inform the governor-general exactly of whatever occurs in his post. His explanation must be clear and concise; and his facts very true and well investigated so that the governor-general may take the proper measures in regard to them.

27. In accordance with form No. 1, placed at the end of these instructions, the lieutenant-governor shall make a general list of the habitants which he shall send as soon as possible to the governor-general of the province. He shall do the same annually, so that this government may always have fresh and true information.

28. At the beginning of each year and in accordance with form No. 2, he shall send a report showing the amount of flour which has been harvested in the preceding year, as well as the quantity and quality of the furs which have been brought to this city [*i.e.*, Nueva Orleans], so that we may know exactly whether that trade results in

benefit to the vassals in proportion to the expense which the King has in protecting them.

29. The lieutenant-governor shall preserve the best of relations with Monsieur de Santo Ange, whose practical knowledge of the Indians will be very useful to him. He shall do whatever he can to gain his friendship and confidence, shall listen to his opinion attentively on all matters, and shall condescend to him so far as possible without prejudice to the service.

30. In the village of San Genevieba there shall always be a special lieutenant for political matters by appointment of the governor-general of the province. He shall have the authority and jurisdiction set forth in his title, and shall be subordinate to the lieutenant-governor of the district of the Ylinneses.

31. The lieutenant-governor shall always bear in mind the special exactness and respect with which he ought to observe these instructions and all the other orders which he shall receive from the governor-general of the province, without manifesting in any manner disapproval or anger at whatever is ordered him.

32. Since it is not possible to provide for all the events which may happen, I leave to the lieutenant-governor the necessary authority to take what action his prudence may dictate to him as being most useful for the service. He shall hold as an invariable principle the greatest economy to the Treasury, good relations with the English, the tranquillity and satisfaction of the citizens, the increase and good faith of trade, and the good treatment of the Indians. Nueva Orleans, February seventeenth, one thousand seven hundred and seventy. DON ALEXANDRO O'REILLY.

A copy from the original which was delivered to me by Captain Don Pedro Piernàs, and which remains in my possession.

FRANCISCO CRUZAT (rubric).

San Luis, May 19, 1775.

FORM I[1]

No. 1°.

Relation showing the number of habitants in the villages of San Luis and San Genevieba in Ylinneses with distinction in classes, sex, and age.

		Whites				Slaves		
		Up to fourteen years inclusive	From fourteen to fifty years	From fifty upwards	Total number of whites of both sexes	Useful for work	Useless for work	Total number of slaves of both sexes
Village of S. Luis	Males	7	9	1	17	8	4	12
	Females	8	7	1	16	4	2	6
Idem of San Genovieba	Males	7	9	1	16	8	4	12
	Females	8	7	1	16	4	2	6

GENERAL RÉSUMÉ

	Whites		Slaves	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Village of S. Luis..............	17	16	12	6
Village of San Genovieba.......	17	16	12	6

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[1] See *ante*, page 82.

FORM II[2]

Numr. 2.—Relation showing the amount of flour harvested in the year just passed, in this jurisdiction, as well as the quantity and quality of furs which have been brought down to Nueba Orleans, with mention of the owners of the flour, and of the skins and the batteaux in which they were brought to the capital.

Names of the Owners	Batteaus in which they descend	FURS									
		Untanned Deerskins [*cierbo*]	*Idem* of Untanned Deerskins [*venado*]	*Idem* of Beaver Skins	*Idem* of Marten Skins	*Idem* of Buffalo Skins	Of Bear Skins	Of Fox Skins	Of Catskins [*i. e.*, wildcat]	All other skins	

Notices regarding the flour which was harvested in this territory in the year just passed and what was done with it.

Names of the Harvesters	Total Amount of the Harvest	Taken to the Capital Quintals	*Idem* to Los Arcos Quintals	Used in this jurisdiction Quintals	Still on hand Quintals

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[2] See *ante*, page 82.

XIX

SECOND SPANISH DETAILED STATISTICAL REPORT OF PRODUCTS OF ST. LOUIS AND STE. GENEVIEVE FOR 1773 DATED JANUARY 1, 1774.

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Report showing the amount of flour which was obtained last year in this jurisdiction; also the quantity and quality of furs which have been taken down to Nueva Orleans; with a note as to the owners of the flour and the furs, and the batteaux in which they were taken to the capital.

[TABLE I]

PACKS OF FURS, FLOUR, AND LEAD IN QUINTALS

Name of Owner	Batteaux in which they were taken	Sold Tanned	*Idem* Untanned	Beaver	Bear	Wildcat	Fox	Polecat	Wolf	Buffalo	Marten	Otter	Deer	To Los Arcos	*Idem* to the City	Lead *Idem*
Monsieur Rocheblave[1].	San Daniel.......														536	45
Don Francisco Valle...	San Francisco....	6												10	532	4
Don Enrique Carpentier	Le Cerf.........														550	12
Alexander Pin[2].......	By pirogue.......	1	1												25	3
Luis Bolcher[3]........	By pirogue.......														120	5
Pablo Segond........	By two boats.....	241	11	15	11	1							94		250	60
Monsieur Conaud[4]....	San Joseph......	160	6	11	11	1	1	1					130		37	30
Monsieur Fagot[5]......	By pirogue.......	10		1												18
Monsieur Jardinier....	By pirogue.......	2	2												134	1
Benito Vasquez.......	San Francisco....	122	13	24	1	1							25		283	
Total..................		542	33	51	23	3	1	1					249	10	2,467	178

[TABLE II]

NOTES ON THE FLOUR WHICH WAS OBTAINED IN THIS TERRITORY LAST YEAR AND WHAT WAS DONE WITH IT

SAN LUIS AND SANTA GENOVEVA		SAN LUIS AND SANTA GENOVEVA	
Names of Harvesters	Total Harvest in Quintals	Names of Harvesters	Total Harvest in Quintals
Don Martigni [6]	10	Moreau	40
Deschamps[7]	50	Herreaux [25]	83
Ride. ...	30	Carlos Baubais [26].	200
Dion [8]	70	Rexio Lasource [27]	27
Bequet	20	Juan Lalande [28]	33
Barzaleau	35	Juan Fortin	7
Jacobo Noize [9]	50	Juan Garau	20
Kiery Denoyers	30	Francisco Guelle [29]	33
Widow Hebert	46	Juan Lafatiga [30]	50
Carlos Bizet [10]	300	Pedro Aubuchon	20
Madame Larroche.	50	Jose Loisel [31]	13
Coté	87	Francisco Litte	14
Roy Herrero [11]	17	Nicolas Boyer	21
Hunaud	20	Antonio Diel [32]	27
Monsieur de Volsey	34	Alexandro Deselle	23
Madame Marchetau	24	Francisco Joyeuse [33]	13
Nicolas Bonfinau [12]	50	Madame Duchouquette	23
Lapointe [13]	33	Don Enrique Carpentier	67
Bacenet [14]	100	Don Carlos Valle	27
Madame Dodier	34	Madame Lebeau [34]	10
Honore	20	Don Francisco Valle	167
Beor	50	Widow Lasource	35
Don Pedro Leclede [15]	400	Antonio Aubuchon	10
Bizouet [16]	17	Gabriel Dodier	50
Renaud [17]	60	Monsieur Conde	47
Monsieur Chauvin	77	Monsieur Taillon	200
Madame Marechal	78	Alexander Langlois	53
Gamache	33	Bequet	20
Routier	87	Miguel Placet	34
Picart [18]	27	Juan Pratte	17
Simoneau	24	Francisco Lalumandiere	27
Baguet	14	Hipolito Robert	20
Langoumuive [19]	10	Esteban Corron	13
Dechams [20]	87	Luis Frutó [35]	30
Chauziller [21]	83	Luis Bolduc [36]	17
Laurant	27	Widow Aubuchon	13
Lasablouiere [22]	34	Andres Deguirre [De Guire]. . .	20
Calve [23]	20	Belemard [37]	27
Larroche [24]	33	Augusto Chatal [38]	50
Roy	53	Pedro Roy	17

Luis Marquis [39]	13	Francisco Langellet	33
Juan Lacroix	27	Widow Firat [42]	17
Geronimo Derousel [40]	33	Joseph Coutierre [43]	20
Andres Deguirre [de Guire]	47	Esteban Gaurau	20
Andres Vignon	7	Esteban Lalande	33
Francisco Rompre [41]	10	Luis Boucher	27
Francisco Simoneau	13	Juan Tellier	33
Widow Hunaud	50	Luis Lacroix	34

Total of both villages	4,304
	Quintals
Taken to the capital	2,467
Taken to Los Arcos	10
Used	3,072
Still on hand	754

NOTE.—These numbers are repeated below, except that 3,072 is given as 2,072; probably due to an error of transcription.

The greater part of the flour which has been taken to the capital belongs to the harvest of the year 1772, which was still on hand.

PEDRO PIERNAS (rubric).

San Luis, January 1, 1774.

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[1] Philip de Rocheblave was the last French commandant at Ste. Genevieve, and seems to have remained a resident there until 1774. Rocheblave appears to have been in the French service in the Illinois country as early as 1760. See *ante*, p. 70, note 6.

[2] Can find no such name in the old archives, but find the name of Marin Pin in the census of Quebec of 1667. One Blondin Pion was a soldier in the French service at Fort de Chartres and came to St. Louis with St. Ange. Perhaps the name was Blondin, dit Pion, or Pawn. The name may also stand for "Dupin," an early trader on the Mississippi.

[3] Louis Boucher lived at Ste. Genevieve in 1769. Was a native of Quebec. Son of Louis Boucher and Mary Magdaline Meunier. In 1769 he married Marie Louise Lalande, daughter of Etienne Lalande and Jeanne Perthuis. A Marin Boucher was a resident of Beauport, Quebec, in 1666, aged 77, a "maçon" by occupation. Pierre Boucher, sieur de Grosbois, was governor of "Trois Rivieres" at the same time. Sulte's Canadiens-Français, vol. iv, p. 62.

[4] No doubt Dr. Joseph Connand. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 27.

[5] Daniel Fagot Lagarciniere, a merchant of Ste. Genevieve, who came over from Fort de Chartres. André Fagot, no doubt related to Daniel, was also a resident of Kaskaskia, and probably lived in St. Louis, at any rate a number of business transactions with him are preserved in the Spanish St. Louis archives. Guillaume Fagot was one of the habitants of Trois Rivières in 1666. Sulte's Canadiens-Français, vol. iv, p. 62.

[6] Jean Baptiste Martigny and Louis Lemoine Martigny were Canadians and among the first residents of St. Louis. They came over from Cahokia. They were both engaged in the Indian trade. Jean Baptiste built a stone house, on what is now the corner of Main and Walnut streets, and this building, which for the time was large, was long occupied by the Spanish officials as a residence. Jean Baptiste was a captain of the militia, a man of importance and property. He married Helene Hubert at Fort de Chartres and died at St. Louis in 1782 at the age of 80. His wife died in 1792 at the age of 70. The name of Louis Lemoine Martigny after 1789 does not appear in the St. Louis archives.

[7] Jean B. Deschamps died in St. Louis, February 17, 1785. This Jean may be a descendant of Jean Baptiste Deschamps de la Bouteillerie, who married Marie Macard in Quebec, and was one of the captains in the Regiment Carignan.

[8] Collot says that "Dion" and "Guion" are the same and probably this Dion is a descendant of Guyon or Dion Dubuisson, who obtained permission to establish a trading post at Detroit after the peace of Ryswick. A Nicholas François Dion, the son of Joseph Dion, a native of Batier, Canada, married Theresa Herviéux in 1769 at Ste. Genevieve.

[9] Jacobo Noisé or Noisèt, dit L'Abbe, married first Theresa Beaugenou and after her death Catherine, the widow of Bidet, dit Langoumois. He was one of the first settlers of St. Louis. See *ante*, p. 58, note 26.

[10] Carlos Bisset was a brother of William Bisset, born at Montreal and who came from there to Fort de Chartres, and when St. Louis was founded removed across the river to this new settlement. Here he died in 1772, leaving what was then a large estate, which he bequeathed to his brother Charles excepting 1,000 livres to the church, 1,000 livres to his clerk, Juan Montage, 500 to his god-daughter Pelagie Vallé, of Ste. Genevieve, and 300 livres to Marie Berger, a little girl 7 years old. Laclede was appointed in his will his executor, and closed up the estate in 1776. Mrs. Isabella Vachard and Mrs. Marie Ann Marechal were his sisters.

[11] Roy, the "blacksmith."

[12] Should be Nicolas Beaugenou.

[13] Pierre Lapointe lived at St. Louis, and in 1773 he leased a residence from Pierre Peltier. He died at the age of 100 years September 15, 1775. Pierre de Santels, dit Lapointe, who was in the 6th squad of the Montreal militia in 1663, and this Lapointe may have been related.

[14] Antoine Riviere, dit Baccane.

[15] It should be noted that the name of Laclede does not appear in the first statistical census of Piernas, a singular fact, if he was engaged in a business as extensive as is usually supposed.

[16] Should be Bissonette.

[17] Renaud, dit Rene Kierseraux. Born in France. One of the first settlers of St. Louis. Came over from Cahokia. Was chanter or chorister of the church, and in the absence of the curate officiated at funerals.

[18] Came over to Ste. Genevieve from Kaskaskia. The Picards were among the first settlers of the Illinois country. A Pierre Picard was an habitant of Beaupre in 1666. See Sulte's Canadiens-Français, vol. iv, p. 54. See *ante*, p. 58, note 20.

[19] Jean Baptiste Bidet, dit Langoumois. His wife was a Noisé, dit L'Abbe. After the death of Bidet, she married François Dunegant, dit Beaurosier, commandant of Florissant, also a widower, whose first wife was Eugenie Jarret.

[20] The Hunot family was also known by the name "Dechamp."

[21] Joseph and Louis Chancellier came to St. Louis from St. Phillipe. They were among the first settlers of the town. See *ante*, p. 58, note 17.

[22] Jacques Lasabloniere, or Jacques Brunel de la Sabloniere, was a son of Jacques Lasabloniere and Marguerite Michelet, natives of Montreal. He married Helene Beaugenou. He came over to Ste. Genevieve from Kaskaskia. He made a claim before the Kaskaskia land commission for land in right of his wife.

[23] Joseph Calvé lived at Ste. Genevieve at this time, was clerk or engagé for Viviat and Datchurut. Afterward moved to St. Louis and then to Florissant.

[24] Jean Baptiste Larroche, a resident of Ste. Genevieve in 1772.

[25] Jean Baptiste Hervieux, armorer, one of the first residents of St. Louis.

[26] This name must be "Beauvais" of Ste. Genevieve.

[27] A Jean Baptiste Lasource was a resident of Ste. Genevieve in 1772; but there is no trace of a "Rexio," and this name must be an error, standing perhaps for Jean Baptiste Regis Thaumur dit Lasource.

[28] Juan Baptiste Lalande was one of the residents of Ste. Genevieve who remonstrated against the collection of tithes by Father Hilaire in 1772.

[29] A Louis Gelie lived in Ste. Genevieve in 1780. In 1802 Joseph Guelle, a son of François, married Louise Bequet, daughter of Jean Baptiste Bequet and Louise Lasource. The wife of Francois Guelle was Marianna Biron, or Billeron, and Miss Head supposes that this name is really "Diel" from the circumstance that in 1767 a François Diel was married to Marianne Billeron at Ste. Genevieve. This François being the son of François Diel and Françoise St. Jean, of the Parish of the Immaculate Conception of Kaskaskia.

[30] Juan Billeron, dit Lafatigue, lived in Ste. Genevieve. Came over from Fort de Chartres.

[31] Died at the age of 80 in St. Louis in 1801. Married Margaretta Vaneur of St. Phillipe. Came over from Cahokia.

[32] This Antonio Diel was a blacksmith and lived in Ste. Genevieve in 1761 and died there in 1775. His wife was Elizabeth Aubuchon. His son Henry married Celeste Pratte, daughter of Jean Baptiste Pratte and Anne Lalumnadiere.

[33] François Janis lived in Ste. Genevieve. Came over from Kaskaskia.

[34] Archange le Beau lived in Ste. Genevieve in 1780. The names of Jacques Toussaint and Jean Baptiste le Beau are found in the St. Louis Archives. Jean B. married Maria Hortiz and Jacques, Marie Lafernai or Lafrainais.

[35] Should be Luis Trudeau, who was a resident of Ste. Genevieve in 1770.

[36] This Louis Bolduc is no doubt a descendant of the Louis Bolduc who was Procureur du Roi in Quebec in 1681. His wife was Elizabeth Hubert and his oldest son named Louis was 12 years old when the census of 1681 was taken.

[37] May be Louis or Charles Bellemar or Bellemair, and who lived in Ste. Genevieve. A widow Bellemar claimed land adjacent to the town before the Board of Land Commissioners.

[38] Was one who remonstrated against tithes. Came over from Kaskaskia. A Louis Chatal was an influential man at Cahokia and acted as justice of the peace there from 1784 to 1790, no doubt a relative.

[39] Louis Cognac, dit Marquis, lived in Ste. Genevieve. There may be some connection between him and François de Conaque, who married an Illinois Indian woman. François also lived at Ste. Genevieve.

[40] A François des Roussel lived in Ste. Genevieve in 1769 and more than likely was connected with this Geronimo.

[41] This name found in the Ste. Genevieve church records. He also remonstrated against the tithes Father Hilaire attempted to collect.

[42] This name should be Tirard.

[43] A Joseph Couture at Ste. Genevieve in 1768. He was the son of Joseph Couture and Angelique Roi, and in that year married Marie Hubert, daughter of Pierre Hubert and Therese Boisseau. Another or the same Joseph Couture, dit Lafrainais, a native of Canada, whose wife was Marie Lacroix, had a son named Nicolas who married Louise Tirard in Ste. Genevieve in 1796.

XX

THIRD SPANISH DETAILED STATISTICAL REPORT OF THE PRODUCTS OF ST. LOUIS AND STE. GENEVIEVE, FOR 1774.

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers proceeding from the Island of Cuba.

[Letter from Piernas:]

DEAR SIR:

I am sending Your Lordship the general report of the furs, flour, and lead, which were taken down to the capital and to Los Arcos[1] last year; of those used, and those still left in San Luis and Santa Genoveva; and as well the list of the habitants of both villages, in which nothing new has occurred.

May God, our Lord, preserve Your Lordship many years. San Luis, January 8, 1775. Your Lordship's most affectionate and faithful servant kisses your hand.

PEDRO PIERNAS (rubric).

Addressed: "Don Luis de Unzaga."[2]

Additional Note:

With the official letter of January 8, last, I received the report of the flour, furs, and lead, which were obtained last year in the villages of San Luis and Santa Genoveva; and the list of the habitants settled therein. May God, etc. Nueva Orleans, February 20, 1775.

Report showing the quantity of flour harvested in this jurisdiction during the past year; also the quantity and quality of furs, which were taken down to Nueva Orleans; with note as to the owners of the flour, and of the boats, in which they were taken to the capital.

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[1] Arkansas Post.

[2] Don Luis de Unzaga y Amezaga was governor of Louisiana from 1770 to 1776. At the time of his appointment he was lieutenant-colonel of the Havana regiment. In a petition in 1774, he says that he served 41 years in the Spanish army; that he saw service in Spain, Italy, and Africa; and that fully 33 years were passed in America. In 1775 he was appointed brigadier-general. While governor of Louisiana he married a daughter of St. Maxent, partner of Laclede. He then asked to be retired from the service with permission to reside in Malaga, but this request was refused and he was appointed captain-general of Caracas.

[TABLE I: 1774.]

REPORT OF THE QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF THE FURS TAKEN TO THE CAPITAL.

Names of the Owners	Batteaux in which they were taken to the Capital	Deerskin Tanned	*Idem* Untanned	Beaver	Bear	Cat	Fox	Polecat	Wolf Buffalo	Marten	Otter	Deer	To Los Arcos	*Idem*, to the City	Lead, *Idem*, Quintals
Monsieur Dupré[3]	By barge	14	1											170	1
Monsieur Arlait[4]	By pirogue	2												60	
Luis Bolduc	By barge	6											3	320	
Trompe Riquar	By pirogue	2													
Don Daniel Fagot	San Daniel	112	7	18					400	200	22	200		80	
Pablo Segont	San Francisco	138	7	16	3	2			648			194		12	
Silbestre Labady[5]	By barge	55		17					144					40	
Monsieur Jardinier	By pirogue	2												140	
Monsieur Esteban Barré	Principe Negro	210	10	25	4				36	100		110		56	
Mons'r Joseph Conand ..	San Antonio	237	12	25	2	3			60			150	45	40	
Monsieur Luis Perrault[6]	By 2 pirogues	40		14							200				
Totals		318	37	117	9	5			1,288	300	222	654	48	1,078	1

Note of the flour harvested in this territory last year, and what was done with it.

[TABLE II: 1774.]

FLOUR HARVESTED IN SAN LUIS AND SANTA GENOVEVA.

Names of Harvesters	Total Harvest In Quintals
Don Juan Baptista Martini	27
Decapins [or Decasins][7]	50
Dion	27
Bequet	33
Barcelau	50
Jacobo Noisès	24
Liberge[8]	47
Alexo Loise	33
Kieri Denoyers	33
Widow Hebert	60
Carlos Biset	167
Dusaut	13
Coté[9]	67
Roy	20
Gascon[10]	17
Hunaud	40
Monsieur Volsay	34
Juan Rion[11]	67
Bou Jeneau [Beaugeneau]	27
Lapuente [Lapointe]	20
Petit[12]	24
Monsieur Labucière [Labusciere]	34
Bacanet [Rivière]	67
Widow Dodier	27
Gabriel Dodier	47
Monsieur Condé	50
Tayon	234
Alexander Langlois	50
Don Pedro Laclede	300
Bisonet [Bissonette]	60
Reneaud	34
Monsieur Chauvin	84
Provenchere	17
Widow Marechal	20
Gamache	17
Routier	50
Luis Bisonet [Bissonette]	34
Picar	54
Simoneau[13]	20
Raquete	20
Widow Delamgomis [De Langoumois]	17
Deschenes	67
Hervieux	50
Cadien	27
Chancelier	27
Laurent	34
Bequette, the Miller	20
Calvé	16
Lachance	50
Moreau	33
Labrosse	17
Lasablouere [La Sabloniere]	27
Luduceau[14]	14
Pablo Guitard[15]	17
Don Francisco Valle	377
Jacobo Lafatigue [Billeron]	40
Carlos Ayme[16]	20
Widow Huneaud	27
Joseph Langelier[17]	16
Regis Lasource	68
Esteban Lalande	7
Francisco Guele [Gelie]	50
Don Carlos Valle	69
Don Enrique Carpentiere	167
Luis Rovinet[18]	70
Monsieur Mercier[19]	30
Juan Baptista Garrau[20]	20
Juan Baptista Lacroix	34
Carlos Baubais [Beauvais]	166
Widow Aubuchon	27
Pedro Lebrand[21]	7
Luis Roucher [Boucher?]	27
Francisco Joyeuse	67
Esteban Graubrau[22]	20
Antonio Dielle	34

Luis Bolduc	67
Augusto Deguire.	83
Nicolas Boyer	67
Joseph Moyuiers	7
Baptista Prat [Jean B. Pratte]	50
Antonio Aubuchon [23]	34
Pedro Aubuchon [24]	50
Esteban Gueremont [25]	14
Pedro Chouvin [Chauvin]	18
Juan Dachorat [Datchurut]	67
Juan Morel [26]	58
Augusto Aubuchon	27
Clemente Carron [27]	27
Joseph Sanaubin [28]	27
Francisco Bernier [29]	34
Luis Rate [30]	27
Luis Lasurse [Lasource].	33
Francisco Simonau [Simoneau][31].	27
Antonio Deguire	44
Widow Tiralt [Tirard]	20
Miguel Plazet [32]	67
Luis Marquis.	20
Pedro Roy	20
Guillermo Derrousel [33]	9
Joseph Coutere [34]	17
Andrez Vinon [34]	10
Luis Lacroix [35]	67
Francisco Salumandiere [36] [Lalumundiere]	50
Pedro Belleremard [37]	4
Widow Truto [Truteau]	67
Juan Fortin [38]	10
Widow Duchouquet[te] [39]	50
Pedro Duclos [40]	17

Total of both villages.	5,018
Taken down to the capital, in quintals	1,078
Taken down to Los Arcos, in quintals.	48
Used in this village, in quintals	3,723
Still unused, in quintals	923

NOTE:

That part of the flour taken down to the capital belongs to the harvest of the year 1773, which was unused.

San Luis, January 1, 1775. PEDRO PIERNAS (rubric).

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[3] Louis Dupré came over from Kaskaskia. In 1770 he carried freight for Datchurut to New Orleans in partnership with one St. Pierre Jussian. Billon's Annals, vol. 101. A Joseph Dupré, or Despré, one of the first settlers of Detroit. A Claude Dupré was "maitre chirurgien" in Ste. Genevieve in 1774.

[4] This name may stand for Alary, Alere, Alarie or Alaire, a name well known on the east side of the river. The family lived in Kaskaskia, where one François Allaire married Domitildie Baillarjon, who claimed a large tract of land on the east side of the Kaskaskia. The name of Louis Alere is found in the St. Louis Archives, an early settler, and may be the "Arlait" named. In 1666 a Jean Allaire was a "fermier de Claude Guyon." Sulte's Canadiens-Français, vol. iv, p. 57. The name of Charles Allaire also in the census of that year, and Jean Allairre in 1667.

[5] Married Pelagie Chouteau, second daughter of Madame Chouteau, July 27, 1776, and died June 19, 1794. It is said that he was a native of Tarbes, Bearne, France, but in a deposition in the case of Madame Chouteau against Papin, he says that he is a native of Vigonia, in France. He came to St. Louis about 1769. Lived at one time at New Madrid.

[6] Louis Perrault, was one of the principal early merchants of St. Louis. His brother James was a merchant in Quebec. Louis Perrault came over from Kaskaskia. His brother J. B. Perrault was a trader at Cahokia, but also lived in St. Louis. Another brother, Michel, was Captain of Infantry in Cahokia, and still another brother, Joseph, also lived there. Louis Perrault died in St. Louis, May 10, 1783. Martin Duralde married Marie Josepha Perrault — no doubt a member of this family.

[7] This name may stand for "Deschenes."

[8] François Liberge married Marianne Dorion and lived on the Mississippi below St. Louis in 1787. François Liberge, junior, married Genevieve La Sabloniere. A François Liberge claimed 40 arpens on the Prairie des Noyers under Joseph Morin; this was no doubt Liberge, junior. The name is now spelled Labarge. The name of a Robert Laberge is found in the census of Canada of 1666. Sulte's Canadiens-Français, vol. iv., p. 54.

[9] Alexis Cotté, a farmer, among the first settlers of St. Louis. Came from Fort de Chartres and name in St. Anne church records. A Jean Cotté in Canada in 1639 and name of Louis Coté in Quebec census of 1666. See *ante*, p. 58, note 13.

[10] Likely Jean Comparios, dit Gascon. Also known as Jean Querscceret, dit Comparios, died at St. Louis, July 27, 1778.

[11] Cadet Jean Rion, lived in St. Louis. This name may be an abbreviation of "Henrion." The name of "Charrion" is also supposed to have been abbreviated to "Rion."

[12] François Petit, dit Milhomme, a blacksmith, lived in Ste. Genevieve. Name found in the church records under date of 1780 recording that his son Jean Baptiste was baptised.

[13] Charles Simoneau, was a son of Rene Simoneau and Françoise Aubin, natives of Quebec. In 1771 he married Marie Picard, daughter of Alexis Picard and Marie Laroche at Ste. Genevieve. He was a trader, and his name is found in the archives of St. Louis.

[14] This name "Ladouceur" the dit of the two Martins, who lived in St. Louis, one named Pierre and the other Antoine. Pierre married in 1774 Marie E. Marechal, daughter of Nicolas Marechal, whose mother was a half-blood Indian named Jeanne Isleret. He came over from Fort de Chartres. Pierre died July 9, 1784. His widow in 1792 married Jean B. Primeau. She lived at that time at Florissant. Pierre owned property at St. Phillipe and also at Cahokia, and came over to St. Louis from there. He was related to one François Delaurie who died at his house at Cahokia. Another Pierre at Cahokia, however, should not be confused with this Pierre and was probably Pierre Martin, junior. Antoine married Angelique Bissonette.

[15] Paul Guitard, owned a place near St. Louis known as "Guitard's Cul de Sac." Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 54.

[16] Or "Aime," was a native of Quebec, son of Louis Aime and Marie Chennevert. I find the name of Charles Amiot, a "bourgeois" of Quebec, married Genevieve de Chavigny, residing there in 1666. At that time they had a son, one year old, named Charles. This may be the same family. The Charles living in Ste. Genevieve in 1770 married Marianne, an Indian woman of the Osage nation. One Auguste Amiot was an early trader of St. Louis. Manuel de Lisa claimed land on Creve Coeur under one Amiot, afterward before the Board of Land Commissioners.

[17] A Langelier or Langeliervoles was a farmer in the Ste. Genevieve Common field. He died in 1787 at the age of 27 — a son of Louis Langelier, of Quebec. François Langelier dit Langeliervoles, who was a resident of Ste. Genevieve in 1799, probably a descendant. So also Richelet Langelier, who claimed land in the Ste. Genevieve common field, no doubt was related. According to the census of Quebec a Sebastian Langelier lived at Côte de Saint Ignace. He was then 80 years of age, but "sa femme" Marie de Beauregard was only 20 years. He had five arpents "en valeur." Sulte's Canadiens-Français, vol. iv, p. 66.

[18] Should be Robinette, a notary of Ste. Genevieve.

[19] Joseph Mercier, a native of Canada, probably the Joseph Marie Mercier who in 1778 was chanter of the Ste. Genevieve church and died there in 1782. His wife was Catherine De Gagnes. Their son, a native of Kaskaskia, was a merchant "ambulant." and in 1795 married Marie Quarteronne Ontavast.

A Julien Mercier married Marie Hunant. A Nicolas Mercier was a resident of Ste Genevieve in 1799. The Merciers came over from Ste Phillipe, but the Julien Mercier who married Marie Hunand came from Prairie du Pont. He received a donation for military service after the conquest of the Illinois country. Also find Chas. Mercier, who married a Lalande, and Claude Mercier at St. Louis. These Merciers are probably all descendants of Miche Mercier and his wife, Ann Lemoine, habitants of Montreal in 1666. One Jacque Mercier, was an uncle of Michel. The name, Julien Talien, a "domestique engagé" is also given in the census as attached to the family and thus the name may have come into it. Sulte's Canadiens-Française, vol. iv, p. 60.

[20] This may be Jean Baptiste Giraud, dit Jean Pierre. He was a native of Canada, and died at Ste. Genevieve in 1781, aged about 50 years. A Pierre Gareau, dit St. Onge or Xaintonge, was one of the first settlers of Detroit in 1710. He was born at Boucherville, May 1, 1673. Burton in the Michigan Historical Collections, vol. XXXIII, p. 493. A Joseph Garre at St. Louis in 1787, and Enrique Garon at St. Charles in the same year.

[21] Have not been able to find this name in the Quebec census of 1666. Think it should be Pierre Legrand. The Legrand came originally from Canada to Detroit, and then to the Illinois country. A veuve Le Grand from Ste. Genevieve lived at New Madrid in 1791, and Charlotte Le Grand, a daughter of Gabriel Le Grand, also resided there. Perhaps the Don Augustine Grande, who was in command of the campo de Esperanza at the time the country was transferred was also a relative. He went there from New Madrid. But a Pedro Labraro was a singer in the Ste. Genevieve church in 1787. The name may stand for Labrand. Also in 1786 a Pierre Alexander Levrard, a native of Quebec, a widower, married Therese Deny, widow of Laplante, daughter of Jean B. Deny and Marthe Hubert at Ste. Genevieve. His first wife was Elizabeth Lasource in 1774. She was a daughter of Jacques Lasource of Kaskaskia.

[22] Etienne Govreau, claimed land in the common field of New Bourbon; married Marie Lavallée. Was a blacksmith in Ste. Genevieve in 1770.

[23] In 1766 Antoine Aubuchon, son of Antoine Aubuchon and Elizabeth De Launey, married Marie Veroneau, daughter of Jean Baptiste Veroneau and Martha Duplessir of Kaskaskia. A son also named Antoine in 1800 married Helene Boussin, daughter of Nicolas Boussin and Hyacinthe Placet, natives of Ste. Genevieve. Find the name of a Jacques Aubuchon a resident of Trois Riviéres in 1666.

[24] Pierre Aubuchon, a son of Pierre Aubuchon and Marie Brunet, in 1763, married a Charlotte Lalande, widow of Lacompte, and died in Ste. Genevieve in 1781, aged about 45 years, and is probably the person named in this table.

[25] Etienne Lieuremont came over from Fort de Chartres to Ste. Genevieve. His wife, Marie Rose Morin, died in 1781.

[26] Juan Morel, is named as an Irish Catholic in Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 102. A Juan Morel and Hugh Morel had a grant in the St. Charles district. A François Morel lived at New Madrid. A Jean Baptiste Morel was a boatman and it appears had several lawsuits about boats and pirogues at Cahokia. The name of Pierre Dubois Morel found in Sillery in 1666. Sulte's Canadiens-Français, vol. iv, p. 58. Etienne Morel, a sailor, is also named in this census.

[27] Probably related to Vital Carron who lived at Vincennes and died there before the Americans took possession of the country. Louis Carron lived at Ste. Genevieve, and was one of the first persons sent out to examine the Iron mountain on the St. François. Had a grant of land between the forks of the Gabourie three miles north of Ste. Genevieve. A Marie Reine Carron married François Ouelette at Vincennes, but was not a daughter of Vital. She afterward lived in New Madrid, so also a Jean Baptiste Carron. The name of Pierre Carron is found in the census of Quebec of 1667. Sulte's Canaidens-Français, vol. iv, p. 78.

[28] A distinguished Canadian family. Sieur de Saint Aubin lived with his family and domestics on the Pesmonquody in 1686. This St. Aubin of Ste. Genevieve was a blacksmith and lived there in 1764. A Jean Baptiste St. Aubin of New Madrid gave Jean Baptiste Pratte power of attorney to settle some business for him in Canada.

[29] Was a son of Louis Bermier or Bernier and Marguerite Lemien. In 1774 he married Marie Louis L'Eveque, dit Rompré, daughter of François L'Eveque and Jeanne Rachalle. In 1783 the Ste. Genevieve church records show that Eulalie Bermier or Bernier was baptized, and in 1786 Celeste. They were the children of François Bermier who married Marie Rompré, and died at the age of 48 in 1787. It also appears from these records that in 1787 another François Bermier or Bernier, a son of Louis Bermier, and Genevieve Beranger, natives of Quebec, married Marie Joseph de Guire, widow of Pierre Vereau, a daughter of Jean Baptiste de Guire and Marie Jeanne, an Indian woman. A Jacques Bernier, dit Jean de Paris, was a habitant of Beauport in 1666. Pierre Nepveu, a name well known in the French annals of the Illinois country, was one of his engagés.

[30] Louis Ratté, a farmer of Ste. Genevieve, died in 1787 at the age of 49. He was one of the first residents of the new village. His son Julien Ratté dit Labrier, was one of the principal witnesses before Commissioner Hunt in 1824 as to the Ste. Genevieve land claims. Jacque Ratté was among the residents of Quebec in 1666. See *ante*, p. 60, note 59.

[31] Francisco Simoneau died in Ste. Genevieve in 1791, and was probably related to Charles. He was a native of Cap St. Ignace, Quebec. Son of Jean Baptist Simoneau and Marie Ann Vennet; in 1782 married Marie Magdalena Duclos of Fort de Chartres. See *ante*, p. 60, note 77.

[32] Michel Placie dit Michau, died in 1787 at Ste. Genevieve at the age of 56. He lived near the village.

[33] Guilliaume des Roussel, a native of Canada, died at Ste. Genevieve in 1780, 60 years of age.

[34] Joseph Couture, dit Lafrainais, married Marie la Croix. Lived at Ste. Genevieve. Died there in 1784. He was a native of Quebec.

[34] André Vignon lived in Ste. Genevieve and was one of the parishioners who remonstrated against the tithes Father Hilaire proposed to collect from the people. In 1767 he appealed a case from the French commandant Rocheblave of Ste. Genevieve to the Superior Council at New Orleans. This Vignon family may have come to upper Louisiana from Acadia. Find in the French census that one Catharine Vigneau was the wife of Pierre Martin of Port Royal in 1672.

[35] This Louis Lacroix was the son of Pierre Lacroix and Jeanne Barette of Quebec. In 1765 he married Marie Joseph Chouquette, who died in 1766. She was a daughter of Joseph Chouquette and Marie Rose de Guire of Fort de Chartres. In 1771 he married Marguerite Tellier, daughter of Jean Baptiste Tellier and Langlois and she died in 1781. His son Louis in 1799 married Celeste Hunaud, daughter of Antoine Hunaud.

[36] François Lalumandiere was a native of Montreal, and resided for a time at Kaskaskia, and from there came over to the west side. He died at Ste. Genevieve in 1784 at the age of 72. His son François married Louise Perthuis. His son Jean Baptiste married Marie Claire Langelier, daughter of Joseph Langelier and Elizabeth Billeron, and in 1797 another son, named François, married Charlotte le Grand, widow of Joseph le Sieur at New Madrid. She was a daughter of Gabriel le Grand and Veronique Reaume, both natives of Detroit. In 1780 Lalumandiere, dit Lafleur, was chanter of the church at Ste. Genevieve.

[37] Pedro Bellemar. A widow of Bellemar, claimed land in Ste. Genevieve Commons. Charles and Louis Bellemar lived there in 1770. Charles Bellemar married Marie Françoise Tirard in 1784. Their son, Baptiste Louis, was baptized. See *ante*, p. 91, note 37.

[38] Fortin is the name of an old Canadian family, found in the census of Quebec in 1666.

[39] Widow of Jean Baptiste Duchouquette, from Quebec removed to Michilimackinac, where he lived for a time, before settling in Ste. Genevieve.

[40] A resident of Ste. Genevieve and a descendant of Alexander Decelle Duclos of Fort de Chartres. Was a native of Canada and an officer in the French Reformed troops. He died at Ste. Genevieve in 1775 at the age of 65 years, and was buried with military honors by a detachment of the militia. A Duclos was a merchant of St. Louis in partnership with Labadie. Before the French cession this Alexander Decelle resided in the village of St. Anne and received a grant of an island opposite the fort from the French authorities. See *ante*, p. 59, note 45.

XXI

FOURTH SPANISH DETAILED STATISTICAL REPORT OF THE PRODUCTS OF ST. LOUIS AND STE. GENEVIEVE FOR 1775.

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers proceeding from the Island of Cuba.

[Letter from Cruzat:]

DEAR SIR:

On this occasion I send Your Lordship, in consideration of the fact that there is no other this year, the reports corresponding to the harvest, furs, and other effects produced in the country during the present year, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five.

Since the Cheraquis Indians compelled the miners at the Mine de Mota,[1] located fifteen leagues from Santa Genoveva, to abandon it, only a small amount of lead has been taken from other small mines, although not enough for the consumption of these settlements. On that account, none has been taken to the capital.

Don Pedro Laclede, who has been earnestly cultivating hemp for some years, has at length succeeded in producing a goodly quantity, and is sending thirty quintals in rope to the city as a sample. He is in hopes of entire success in his attempt. If it is accomplished, and that seems possible, it will be a benefit, which is due to his ingenious method.

May God, our Lord, preserve Your Lordship many years. San Luis de Ylinneses, December 10, 1775. Your Lordship's most faithful servant kisses your hands.

FRANCISCO CRUZAT (rubric).

Addressed: "Don Luis de Unzaga y Amezaga."

Report showing the amount of flour harvested last year in this jurisdiction, as well as the quantity and quality of furs taken down to Nueva Orleans, with mention of the owners of the flour and furs, and the boats in which they were taken to the capital.

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[1] This lead mine was "Mine La Motte" — located on the St. François — and it seems that even at this time the Cherokees were hunting on the St. François.

[TABLE I: 1775.]

REPORT OF THE QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF THE FURS TAKEN TO THE CAPITAL.

Names of the Owners	Batteaux in which they were taken to the Capital	Deerskins Tanned	*Idem* Untanned	Beaver	Bear	Cat	Fox	Polecat	Wolf	Buffalo	Marten	Otter	Deer	Taken to Los Arcos	*Idem* to the City	Lead, *Idem:* Quintals
Juan Pertie[1]	By pirogue														40	
Juan Hege[2]	By pirogue														100	
Pedro Nitar[3]	By pirogue	9													60	
Luis Delorie[4]	San Tiburcio														200	
Monsieur Dupre	El Leolo				1										5,100	
Pedro Pomé[5]	By pirogue	4								2						
Benito Vasquez	La Charlota	214				6				7			2		100	
Don Francisco Valle. Jr.	San Francisco	2													5,000	
Luis Bolduc	San Luis	10			1											
Auguste Chouteau	By 2 pirogues	4			14					22		1	10		5	
Monsieur Conan(d)	San Joseph	190	8		16	3							10			
Monsieur Perrault	La Charlota	114	24		1								52		60	
Joseph Segon[6]	Principe Negro	240	2	9	2								11		40	
Antonio Marcu[7]	By pirogue														80	
Antonio Reinal[8]	By pirogue														30	
Totals		787	34	48[2]	11	9				31		1	85		14,115	

[TABLE II: 1775.]

FLOUR HARVESTED IN SAN LUIS AND SANTA GENOVEVA.

Names of Harvesters	Total Harvest in Quintals
Monsieur Delor [9]	200
Monsieur Lalande [10]	12
Monsieur Tinon [11]	17
Monsieur Labusiera [12]	25
Don Pedro Beletre [13]	89
Monsieur Volsey [14]	32
Nicolas Bocheneau..[Beaugenou]	45
Alexis Loise [15]	15
Pedro Lapuente [16]	18
Nicolas Barseleau	20
Antonio Ribiere [Riviére]	21
Quieri [*i.e.*, Pierre?] Denoyer	26
Roy	15
Gascon	16
Unot [17]	12
Alejos Cote [Aexis Cote]	55
Luis Vachar [Vachard]	20
Madame Hebert	20
Jacobo Noise [L'Abbe]	20
Monsieur Hiyon (*sic*) [18]	80
Rondo [19]	100
Madame Choteau [Chouteau]	100
Don Jaime Chovin [Chauvin]	60
Pedro Visonet [Bissonette]	20
Quiersero [20]	20
Gamache [21]	20
Ruquier [Ricar] [22]	25
Dechene	35
Monsieur Langomois.. [Langoumois[	15
Chancelier	34
Picard	20
Cadien	21
Loran [23]	17
San Lusi [24]	19
Potier [25]	25
Denoyer [Des Noyer]	16
Honbré	32
Vaget [26]	50
Guion Herrero [27]	11
Lachanse [Lachance]	45
Provanche [28]	51
Moro [29]	22
Bechu	37
Don Pedro Laclede	60
Iph Labrose [30]	30
Don Eugenio Pure [31]	50
Don Augusto Conde	60
Guion	98
Baptista Bequet	44
Todos Santos [*i.e.*, Toussaint]	
Depanis [32]	50
Cayu [33]	40
Dupeau [34]	30
Gabriel Duller [35]	80
Madame Doclier [36]	154
Pablo Quitar [37]	23
Madame Rolet [38]	28
Antonio Malato [39]	280
Varadá [Barada]	52
Liverge [Liberge]	33
Monsieur Martigny	70
Ride	86
Francisco Hebert	35
Don Francisco Valle	1000
Antonia Desel [40]	80
Luis Gravel [41]	20
Don Enrique Carpantier	400
Antonio Obuchon [Aubuchon]	30
Jacobo Villeron (Billeron)	80
Don Carlos Vallé	200
Widow Duchuquet [Duchouquette]	150
Francisco Choubin [Chauvin]	50
Augusto Obuchon [Aubuchon]	80
Luis Rubinet [Robinette] [42]	60
Antonio Ducolos	100
Joseph Desel [43]	40
Alexandro Lebrar [44]	40
Nicolas Valle	80
Pedro Obuchon [Aubuchon]	80
Juan Morel	200
Francisco Bermer [Bernier]	40
Miguel Plazet [Placet]	200

Juan Baptista Prat [Pratte]	150
Francisco Lalumandiere	150
Hipolito Robert	50
Joseph Moquier [45]	150
Pedro Chovin [Chauvin]	100
Francisco Giel [46]	150
Juan Baptista Garro [Garreau]	100
Carlos Emay [47]	80
Juan Jortin [48]	100
Rexis Lasuase [49]	250
Claudio Carron [50]	80
Luis Lasurse	150
Luis Bolduc	150
Widow Obuchón [Aubuchon]	60
Andreas Deguire	200
Pedro Vermelde	80
Luis Canat [51]	50
Juan Baptista Lacux [52]	150
Esteban Grogro [53]	50
Luis Buchere	40
Luis Lacroix [54]	100
Carlos Rolais [55]	500
Santo Vin [56]	30
Andreas de Guire, Jr.	150
Guillermo Derrusele	160
Joseph Cuturier [Coutere]	50
Widow Tirrat [57]	50
Juan Gubert [58]	35
Widow Hunot	120
Pedro Ruy [Roy]	100
Antonio Obuchon [Aubuchon]	100
Joseph Laguedier [Langelier]	80
Widow Cheteau [Chouteau ?]	80
Joseph Hortes [59]	30
Francisco Simoneau	60

Total of both villages	5,018
Taken to the capital in quintals	14,115
Idem. to Los Arcos, in quintals	
Used in this city, in quintals	3,113
Left unused, in quintals	1,456

NOTE:

That a part of the flour taken down to the capital belongs to the harvest of the year 1774, which was unused; that the mines no longer produce more lead than is used annually; and that Don Pedro Laclede, who cultivates hemp, sent thirty quintals of rope last year. San Luis de Ylinneses, January 1, 1776.

FRANCISCO CRUZAT (rubric).

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[1] Probably same as Perthuis or Pertuis. May be Jean Potie of Kaskaskia. A Charles Potier, a native of Montreal, died at the age of 72 at Ste. Genevieve, January 1, 1767. In 1760 Marguerite Pertuis married François le Beau. Etienne Lalande married Jeanne Pertuis. Charles and Peter Pertius lived at Arkansas Post, and received land grants there in 1799.

[2] Should be Jean Hugé. Lived at St. Louis. No doubt a brother of Joseph Hugé, a native of France, who in 1776 married Agnes Françoise Beaugenou. Dominick Hugé was their son. He married Marie Rose Purcelly.

[3] This must be Pierre Guitard, dit la Grandeur.

[4] Louis de Lorier, or Merlet, dit de Lorier or Delorie, a native of Bas-Poitou, a diocese of Luçon, France. A Louis Delorie lived and had a claim on Bayou Rapides in Lower Louisiana. Perhaps the same.

[5] This name may stand for "Pomet," a name found among the French settlers near New Orleans, but not among the inhabitants of the Illinois country.

[6] A merchant of St. Louis, who afterward removed to New Orleans. No doubt a brother of Pablo Segond. This Joseph Segond married Margaret

de Laferne, widow of Pierre François des Bruisseau, who died in New Orleans in 1770. She died in 1844.

[7] A Pierre Marcou resided in Ste. Genevieve in 1763. He was a native of Beauport, Quebec, a son of Noel Marcou and Marguerite Belanger. He married at St. Phillipe a daughter of Pierre Marotte. Jean Baptiste, their son, was baptized in 1780 at Ste. Genevieve.

[8] Dr. Antoine Reynal lived in Ste. Genevieve at this time. His wife was Marie Turgand. His son André was baptized in Ste. Genevieve in 1774. From Ste. Genevieve he removed to St. Louis and from there to St. Charles, where he died.

[9] Joseph de Lor de Treget in Ste. Genevieve. In 1774 came over from Fort de Chartres where his name appears in the St. Anne Church records. Son of Clement de Lor de Treget married first Catharine Marin, who died at Carondelet, and then Angelique Martin in St. Louis. Clement de Lor was the founder of Carondelet. He was the son of Noble Gabriel de Lor and Demoiselle de la Vaure, of Cahors "dans le Quercy," France.

[10] Jean Baptiste Lalande, a resident of Ste. Genevieve in 1763, a son of Etienne Lalande of Kaskaskia. In 1772 he married Françoise Phillipeau a daughter of François Dorlac. His brother Alexis Lalande in 1777 married a daughter of Marc Constantinoa, an Indian, who had married a white woman, Susannah Henn, a native of Prague, Bohemia, who as an infant was brought by her parents to Pennsylvania, and there made a prisoner by the Shawnee Indians and adopted by them. See *ante*, p. 60, note 54.

[11] Claude Tinon, a soldier, who came to St. Louis with St. Ange from Fort de Chartres.

[12] Joseph Labusciere married at St. Phillipe Catharine Vifvarenne, or Wivarenne, a daughter of Pierre Wivarenne, a native of Picardy, France, and his wife Marianna Rondeau. This Wivarenne lived for a time at "Old Mines" in what is now Washington County in Missouri, and no doubt came to upper Louisiana with Renault. Labusciere, or Labuxiere, was a man of some education, official greffier at Fort de Chartres from 1757 to 1765 and the greffier at St. Louis. He was connected with the government. When Lefebvre died he took his place and all public documents and land grants are in his handwriting until Piernas took command in St. Louis. In 1781 he removed to Kaskaskia and from there to Cahokia, where he died in 1792. He held various official positions under the American government. See *ante*, p. 73, note 5.

[13] Pierre Picote de Belestre died in St. Louis in 1780. He came with St. Ange from Fort de Chartres and was a lieutenant in the French service. He married Joachi de Villiers, a granddaughter of Madame St. Ange. No doubt he was a descendant of Pierre Picotte, Sieur de Belestre, of Montreal, a resident there in 1666. Sulte's Canadiens-Français, vol. iv, p. 60. A Perrine Picote de Belestre married Michael Godefrey, Sieur de Lintot, and from the name I infer that this was the ancestor of Godfrey Linctot, who acted as Indian agent for Virginia in the Illinois country during the Revolutionary War. Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 48. Two children of Belestre died in St. Louis in 1780 and a son, also named Pierre Picote, at the age of 25 in 1801.

[14] Pierre François de Volsay, first lieutenant and brevet captain at Fort de Chartres, came to St. Louis with St. Ange, married a niece of St. Ange, a sister of Madame de Belestre. See *ante*, p. 59, note 36.

[15] Alexis Loise, married Elizabeth Beaugenou in 1773.

[16] The name of Pierre la Pointe, appears in the St. Louis records. In 1773 Pierre la Pointe leased a house in St. Louis from Pierre Peltier. A Pierre la Pointe died at the age of 100 years there in 1775, but evidently another person than the one named in this table.

[17] An Antoine Huneau, or Hunand, lived in Ste. Genevieve in 1760. This may be the same name as "Hunant" found in the St. Louis archives, or "Hunot" found in the New Madrid archives.

[18] Joseph Michel, dit Taillon, or Tayon, one of the founders of St. Louis, a miller. Don Francisco Tayon, commandant of St. Charles was his son.

[19] Alexander Langlois, dit Rondeau, one of the first settlers of St. Louis, a trader.

[20] Paul Kiercereau, a descendant of Gregoire Kiercereau, came to St. Louis from Cahokia, married Marie Josephe Michel, dit Tayon. One of his daughters married Pierre Chouteau, senior. Gregoire Kiercereau settled in Cahokia as early as 1740. From the St. Anne church records of 1748 it appears that his full name was Gregoire Kiercereau de Kevignac, and that he came from the diocese of Vannes, France. Rene Kiercereau, another son, was a chanter of the St. Louis church, and died at the age of 75 years in 1798 at Ste. Ferdinand. He married Marie M. Robillard. She died in St. Louis in 1783. See *ante*, p. 90, note 17.

[21] Jean Baptiste Gamache, came to St. Louis with Laclede. Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 65.

[22] Trompe Ricar, or Tropez Recar, or Trope Ricard, was a "patron d'un bateau," lived at Ste. Genevieve, where he died at the age of 36 in 1787. A soldier of the same name came to St. Louis from Fort de Chartres with St. Ange in 1765.

[23] Jean Baptiste Laurin, of Lorain, lived in St. Louis, "a dresser of deerskins," died there in 1787. A Joseph Lorens, or Lorin, married the Widow Barada, and may have been related.

[24] Antoine Roussell, dit Sans Soucie. This Roussell was a "soldat de la compagnie de Grandpre." He was a stone mason and did the stone work on the first St. Louis jail. Married Françoise Vifvarenne of St. Phillipe. He died in 1799.

[25] Louis Pothier, or Potier, came from St. Phillipe to Ste. Genevieve. Houck's History of Missouri, vol. i, p. 340. Antoine Pothier., a trader, was one of the first settlers of St. Louis.

[26] Fagot.

[27] Guion, the blacksmith.

[28] Jean Baptiste Provenchere, was a wagon maker and came to St. Louis from Cahokia; one of the early settlers. He was the father of Jean Louis Provenchere, a trader. Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 2. Not related to the Pierre Provenchere, mentioned in Billon's Annals of St. Louis, vol. i, p. 480.

[29] François Moreau in Ste. Genevieve in 1767, where he married Catharine Marechal, widow of Nicolas Marechal. This François Moreau was a son of François Moreau, senior, who came from Quebec to Kaskaskia and removed thence to St. Louis.

[30] Joseph Labrosse, one of the first settlers of St. Louis, a trader. He had a land claim, adjoining the town, which he sold to Jeremiah Connor. Married Therese D'Amours de Louvieres, widow of Louis Deshetres. A widow Labrosse died in St. Louis 1800.

[31] Captain Eugenio Pourée, one of the first settlers of St. Louis, a merchant, captain of militia, commander of the expedition which captured Fort St. Joseph. Houck's History of Missouri vol. ii, p. 331. See *ante*, p. 81, note 3.

[32] A Pawnee Indian.

[33] Louis Brazeau, dit Caioua, probably traded from Ste. Genevieve to New Orleans at this time. Was the only resident of Kaskaskia who advocated resistance to Gen. George Rogers Clark. Married Marie Françoise Bienvenu, dit Delisle. He was a son of Joseph Brazeau, who came to Kaskaskia and was killed by the Indians there in 1779, at the age of 78 years. Billon's Annals of St. Louis, vol. i, p. 454. Louis Brazeau came to St. Louis in 1787, and died there in 1828 at the age of 83 years.

[34] Probably Paul Depuis, who married Françoise de Volsay, a colored woman, may be a natural daughter of either Gaston or Pierre de Volsay.

[35] Gabriel Dodier, the blacksmith, who came from Fort de Chartres to St. Louis.

[36] Madame Dodier, the mother of the blacksmith.

[37] Paul Guitard, dit la Grandeur, a trader at St. Louis.

[38] Josepha Morriseau, married Michel Rolet, or Rollette, dit Laderoute, a soldier, who came to St. Louis with St. Ange. He died November 15, 1775.

[39] This name may stand for Antoine Mallet, or Millette, whose widow lived in Ste. Genevieve. It is the name of a Vincennes family. Pascal Millette or Mallet, from Vincennes, was an early settler of Carondelet.

[40] Antoine Decelle Duclos. About the time this census was made Alexander Decelle Duclos, formerly an officer in the French Reformed Troops at Fort de Chartres died at Ste. Genevieve (Sept. 17, 1775), and was buried with military honors by a detachment of Spanish soldiers. He was no doubt a relative of this Antoine. See *ante*, page 99 note 40.

[41] Louis Gravel was a native of Chateau Richer, Quebec, son of Joseph Gravel and Marie Angelique Thibault. In 1780 he married Louise Choret, daughter of Michel la Roche, at one time a blacksmith in Ste. Genevieve.

[42] Jean Louis Robinette, a native of Auvergne, France, came to Ste. Genevieve from Fort de Chartres. He was "huissier" there. In Ste. Genevieve he acted as notary. In 1758 he married Marie Madeline Pigten (Fichten), a native of Wittenberg, diocese of Cologne, at St. Anne church.

[43] Joseph Decelle Duclos was an ensign in the French troops at Fort de Chartres.

[44] Pierre Alexander Leverare, married Elizabeth la Source in Ste. Genevieve in 1774. He was a son of Charles Leverare of Quebec, who first settled in Kaskaskia.

[45] Joseph Moquet, a resident of Ste. Genevieve in 1766. In 1767 he married Felicité Rollet.

[46] François Diel lived in Ste. Genevieve in 1767. In that year he married Marianne Billeron. Joseph Diel born in 1782 was his son.

[47] Aime or Ayme, a resident of Ste. Genevieve, a voyageur. He was a son of Louis Ayme or Amie and Marie Chennevert, of Quebec. In 1770 he married an Osage Indian woman named Marianne or Anouacou, Father Gibault performing the marriage ceremony. See *ante*, page 96 note 16.

[48] Jean Fortin, or Jean Baptiste Fortin, a resident of Ste. Genevieve. Married Agnes Charon. A Charles Fortin resided in St. Louis, and a Julien Fortin dit Bellefontaine, at Carondelet. No doubt these Fortins came over from St. Phillipe, where one Jacques Fortin was an early French settler and owned land.

[49] François Regis Thaumur, dit Lasource lived in Ste. Genevieve in 1765. He was a native of Kaskaskia, where he married Cecile Choquet. He died October 6, 1783.

[50] Claude Caron, married Charlotte Lacheney at Kaskaskia. A Charlotte Caron married Nicolas Boyer and died at Ste. Genevieve in 1784, likely a daughter.

[51] Louis Conac, dit Marquis, a native of Quebec. In 1767 married Catharine Courtois at Ste. Genevieve.

[52] Jean Baptiste Lacroix married Marie Louise Govreau at Ste. Genevieve in 1765. He was a son of Pierre Lacroix of Quebec, who came from Fort de Chartres

[53] Etienne Govreau, lived at Ste. Genevieve in 1763. He married Marie la Vallée. His son Etienne, junior, in 1790 married Jeanne Binnet, a native of Vincennes.

[54] A son of Pierre Lacroix.

[55] Charles Rollette, dit Laderoute.

[56] Vincent — may be Vincent Bouis.

[57] Marie Josepha de Guire Tirard, widow of Louis Maurice Tirard, dit St. Jean. This Louis Maurice was a churchwarden of the Ste. Genevieve church. He died February 19, 1773 at the age of 45 years.

[58] Jean Hubert.

[59] Ortiz?

XXII

OFFICE OF LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR FOR ST. LOUIS, STE. GENEVIEVE, THE DISTRICT OF MISSOURI AND THE YLINNESSES ESTABLISHED BY O'REILLY IN 1770 AND HIS ORDER APPROVED BY ROYAL CEDULA IN 1772.

General Archives of the Indies — Audiencia of Santo Domingo, Louisiana, and Florida.

Title:

To the political and military governor of the province of Luisiana. Cédula.

Synopsis:

In order that the instruction that is cited, and which has been given by Don Alejandro O'Reilli, concerning what is to be observed by the lieutenant-governor whom he appointed for the village of San Luis, Santa Genevieva, and the whole district of the Misuri River and the part of the Ylinneses which belongs to your Majesty in the province of Luisiana, in the enjoyment and exercise of this office, may be kept and observed *in toto*. Duplicate. August 17, 1772. Ex officio.

Cédula:

The King: Inasmuch as Don Alejandro O'Reilli, lieutenant-governor of my royal armies, and inspector-general of all my infantry, finding himself, by my commission in the province of Luisiana, represented to me by a letter dated May first, of the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy that, after he was instructed concerning the objects of interest to my royal service in the said provinces and the welfare of those my vassals, and of the vices, wrongs, and evil combinations of the past, he had given the instructions which he enclosed, for the lieutenant-governor whom he appointed over the village of San Luis, Genevieva, and the whole district of the Misuri River and the portion of the Ylinneses which belongs to me, since by so doing, there would be a judge in those districts to watch over the boundaries, illicit entrances, and the quiet, good order and exact observance of the orders of the superior government (which was admitted to the great satisfaction of all, by virtue of publishing that justice would be administered to them), and that the government of my dominions had obtained great renown among those my vassals, and that he had succeeded in obtaining an equally good reception for the person appointed lieutenant-governor, as the people knew his good conduct, and the new dominion into which they had passed was very pleasing to them; and the above having been examined in my Council of the Indies, together with the representations of my fiscal of that Council in regard to the matter, and the information obtained from the accountancy-general, and the Council having consulted with me upon the matter on the twenty-seventh day of February of this year, it being considered that the above-mentioned instructions have been given with all advisable clearness in order that the above-declared lieutenant-governor may perform thoroughly all the objects of my royal service and my dominion and that his government may be loved and respected by all my vassals in that province, justice well administered, and based on my royal laws, commerce assisted and protected, delinquents rigorously punished: I have resolved to approve it *in toto* and to order that this my royal cedula be despatched ordering its punctual and strict observance. Therefore, by the present, I order my political and military governor of the above-mentioned province of Luisiana, the lieutenant-governor of the district of the Ylinneses, the royal officials of the said province, and all other judges and ministers of that province, to each, so far as it concerns him, observe, perform, and execute, and cause to be observed, performed and executed, the above-expressed, my royal resolution, punctually and effectively, according to and in the manner herein expressed, for such is my will. Of this my royal cedula, a memorandum shall be made in the above-mentioned accountancy-general of my Council of the Indies and in the other offices and places incident thereto. Given in San Yldefonso, August 17, 1772. I THE KING.

By order of the King our Sovereign,

DON PEDRO GARCIA, Mayoral.[1]
(Three rubrics.)

CEDULA:

[Instructions: "Let notice be taken of this in the accountancy-general of the Indies. Madrid, August 20, 1772.

DON THOMÁS ORTIZ DE LANDASURI (rubric)."]

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[1] Mayoral — *i.e.*, leading or principal secretary.

XXIII

APPOINTMENT OF PIERNAS CONFIRMED AND SALARY OF LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR FIXED AND HIS JURISDICTION DEFINED, AUGUST, 1772.

General Archives of the Indies — Audiencia of Santo Domingo, Luisiana, and Florida — Various titles: years 1613-1818 — Estante 86, Cajon 6, Legajo 3.

Synopsis:

Don Pedro Piernas. Title as lieutenant-governor of the village of San Luis, San Genevieva, and the districts of the Misuri River and the Ylinneses in the province of Luisiana, on whom the lieutenant-general, Don Alejandro O'Reilli, conferred this office as a new creation.

Title:

Don Carlos, by the grace of God, etc.: Inasmuch as, by virtue of the commission which I considered it fitting to bestow on Don Alejandro O'Reilli, lieutenant-general of my royal armies and inspector-general of all my infantry, by my royal cedula of April 16, of the year 1769, in order that he might go to take formal possession of the province of Luisiana, bringing it under the same rule as the rest of my dominions, he executed it suitably to its laws, by establishing a new method of political and military government, and by declaring to me what he judged necessary in regard to commerce and the extinction of the Council by which it is governed, together with other measure which he asked me to approve for the meanwhile, such as the choice of several commandants and special lieutenants for the entire district of the above-mentioned colony, and the appointment of two lieutenant-governors whom he established in the district of the Ylinneses and Natchitoches, and the instructions given for their government; and in consideration of the fact of the relation of the men chosen for the above posts, remitted in his letter of March 1, 1770, by the above-declared lieutenant-governor results the choice that he made of you, the captain of infantry, Don Pedro Piernas, for the post of lieutenant-governor of the district of the Ylinneses with the salary of 372 pesos, in case that you do not enjoy any other pay from my royal treasury: I have resolved, after consulting my Council and Assembly of the Indies, on the 27th of February of this year, to approve the above-mentioned instructions, together with all the provisions taken by the abovesaid lieutenant-general, and to have the respective royal titles made out for those appointed in the said colony, and for that purpose to issue this present for you, in order that, in accordance with the said instructions you may continue in the practice and exercise of the abovesaid duty. I consider you as such lieutenant-governor in the form in which you were appointed by the said Don Alejandro O'Reilli and approved by me; and I herein declare you exempt from the taxes of the half-annats, as this is an office newly created. Therefore, I approve and confirm by the present my royal title, the choice and appointment made in you, Don Pedro Piernas, for the exercise of the office of lieutenant-governor of the village of San Luis, San Geniebeba, the district of the Misuri River, and the part of the Ylinneses which pertains to me in the above-mentioned province of Luisiana, so that you may serve in accordance with the above-cited instructions which are and shall be given you. And I order Don Luis de Unzaga y Amizaga, my political and military governor of the above-named city of Nueba Orleans and the province of Luisiana to administer to you beforehand the customary oath (if you shall not have taken it already), that you will serve in the above charge well and faithfully. The testimony thereof having been entered in this my royal title, both the governor himself and the cabildo, judiciary and municipal bodies of the above-named city of Nueba Orleans, and the knights, squires and officials, and all good men and all other persons of whatever state, rank, and condition they may be, shall hold, receive, and consider you as such lieutenant-governor of the said posts, according to the terms of the above-cited instructions. They shall allow the exercise of that office by you according as it is exercised by other lieutenant-governors of the other cities and districts of my kingdoms of the Indies. They shall observe toward you and cause to be observed toward you all the honors, privileges, favors, immunities and preëminences that belong to you exactly and *in toto*, and they shall not fail in any of them. You shall be empowered to take action in all suits, causes, and other matters which present themselves in the two jurisdictions of the political and military departments of the above-mentioned districts, and in the manner prescribed by the instructions which were given to you for this purpose by the above-mentioned Don Alejandro O'Reilli. And for all this I concede you as sufficient power, commission, and authority, as is required by law and as is necessary. I charge you to keep with the present or future political and military governor of the said province of Luisiana, the good relations and harmony which I expect from your person and obligation. It is my concession and will that you shall have and receive with this post, as salary each year for so long a time as you shall serve in the office, and in case that it is made clear that you do not enjoy any other pay from my royal treasury, the above-said 372 pesos, assigned by the above-said Don Alejandro O'Reilly. That sum shall be given and paid to you from the day that you shall make it evident that you have taken possession of that office by the officials of my royal treasury of the above-mentioned city of Nueba Orleans, or the person or persons who ought to do it, if they shall not already have so done with regard to what has been established by the said Don Alejandro O'Reilli, and they shall execute it in like manner for the whole time that you shall serve in that office. And with your letters of payment and testimony of the day on which you shall have taken the said possession, the remuneration thus given and paid you shall be received and placed in the accounts. And I declare that by virtue of this concession, you owe nothing to the tax of the half-annats[1] as the office under discussion is one newly created. A memorandum of this my royal title shall be made in the accountancies-general of rates, of the disbursements of my royal treasury and of my Council of the Indies within the two months following its date; and if this is not done this concession shall be null and void. Also account shall be taken by the officials of my royal treasury of the chests of the said city of Nueba Orleans. Such is my will. Given in San Yldefonso, August seventeen, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-two.

I THE KING.

I, DON PEDRO GARCIA, Mayoral [principal] secretary of the King, our Sovereign, had this written by his order.

DON JHE DEL ARCO
DON DOMINGO TRESPALACIOS Y ESCANDON
DON JOSEF GALBES

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[1] By *Annat* is meant the first fruit — that is to say the first year's salary — of an office, or if not the whole salary a specified part of the salary. Originally the *Annat*, or first fruit, was paid by a bishop, abbot or other ecclesiastic to the pope upon being appointed to a see or benefice. In Spain it would seem from this order that officials were taxed similarly to the extent of one-half of the first year's salary of any office to which appointed.

Remarks: Account was taken in the accountancies-general of rates and disbursements of the royal treasury, and that of rates advises that no payment be made to the tax of the half-annats by the said Don Pedro Piernas, as he has been appointed by his Majesty and because it is the post of a new creation, which has been conceded to the above by this title. Madrid, August 21, 1772. Because of the indisposition of the accountant-general of disbursements, Don Francisco Antonio de Salasar.

DON SALVADOR DE QUEREJASU.

A memorandum of it was made in the accountancy of the Council of the Indies. Madrid, August 22, 1772.

DON TOMÁS ORTIZ DE LANDASURI.
(Rubric.)

XXIV

RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF LOUISIANA, 1772.[1]

General Archives of the Indies — Documents coming from the Island of Cuba.

Report as to the present government of the province of Luisiana in spiritual matters, and information with regard to [the ecclesiastical] system and administration.

The king of France, the former sovereign, left the province in complete and absolute liberty, subject to nothing but the laws, manifesting its allegiance in no other way than by accepting the king's appointment of the judges, and controlled by no other customs than those of Paris.

The whole object of the government was to settle and develop regions the fertility of which promises [the creation of] a vast empire, making conquest of their wildness by the culture of the soil, and supporting the settlers with the expenditure to that end and with the returns obtained.

So long as a settler was active, diligent, and laborious, he was inconvenienced by no exactions. Religious opinions were tolerated in order that disputes on such topics might not embarrass the development and progress of the settlement of the country.

The king maintained from his treasury a mission of Capuchins to supply religious nurture as having the cure of souls, under the supervision of the bishop of Quebec. The latter appointed as his vicar a member of the Jesuit order, who in his capacity of vicar issued dispensations as to the publishing of banns and marriages within the prohibited degrees, according to the powers granted him.

There arrived later Father Fray Hilario Genoveaux, who had been appointed superior of the mission by the provincial of the province of Champagne. He began to dispute with the Jesuit vicar the powers [which had been granted], and affirmed that as an ecclesiastical dignitary with the cure of souls, regularly appointed, these powers appertained to him; and that the bishop of Quebec had only authority to oversee and to give encouragement, and no more. This dispute caused the usual noise made by questions of jurisdiction. The superior went to France, and came back again without any settlement of the question except what was involved in his returning with the investiture of apostolic prothonotary. By means of this he gave more trouble to the Jesuit, his antagonist, the disputes were renewed, and the vicar-general of the bishopric of Quebec, *sede vacante*, desired the former council to expel him from the province as a disturber of the peace and an usurper of his episcopal jurisdiction, as was done, after his Lordship (or Holiness) had laid an interdict upon him. This event [reading *le* for *lo*, as must be done above] and the expulsion of the Jesuits caused the superiorship of the mission and the vicariate-general to be united in Fr. Dagobert, a man of pacific temper, to the gratification of the town and the satisfaction of his provincial and the vicar-general of the episcopate of Quebec, the Abbé Isle-Dieu.

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[1] This letter, although only some portions of it relate to upper Louisiana, and it mainly relates to New Orleans, I think best to insert here in full. It is not signed in my transcript, but is from Unzaga to the Bishop of Havanna, as appears from Gayarré's History of Louisiana, New York, 1854, vol. ii, p. 28. The translator of my transcript says that the translation in Gayarré is loosely made and with some errors. The narrative of the ecclesiastical quarrel found in Gayarré is very interesting.

Such was the condition of affairs when His Catholic Majesty occupied the province; and His Excellency the Conde [O'Reilly] left them in the same state without any changes except the expulsion of some Jews and Protestants, and so they continue on the following footing.

CLERGY AND THEIR FUNCTIONS.

Father Dagobert,[1] parish priest and chief vicar [*cura gran vicario*] of the parish church of Sn. Luis, at this capital, keeps with him, with the title of first curate [*primer vicario*] Fr. Prospero, and of second curate Fr. Ferdinando. These titles amount, so to speak, to vicar's lieutenants among us. The need of clergy is so great as to increase the duties of both, for Fr. Prospero acts as chaplain to the Ursuline nuns, and the other as chaplain to the Charity Hospital.

RURAL PARISH PRIESTS.

Fr. Bernabé[2] is priest of the parish of San Carlos. This is at the post called Los Alemanes [the Germans].

Fr. Hirené occupies that of San Francisco of the post called Punta Cortada.

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[1] Father Dagobert, the superior of the Capuchins in New Orleans, and who was greatly opposed by Father Hilaire.

[2] This Father Bernabé in 1768 took an active part with the most influential members of his flock against Ulloa.

Fr. Estanislado,[4] the parish of the district of Nachitos.

Fr. Valentin,[5] that of the parish of Sn. Luis de los Ylinueses, at the place commonly called Pancorto.

All these clergymen, who make up the number of seven, are virtuous and exemplary, but among them there are those who understand their duties, and others who scarcely do. Laboring (as they all do) in their holy ministry, and accustomed to the great poverty and wretchedness of their parishioners, among them all Fr. Dagobert earned the esteem of His Excellency, the Conde O'Reilli, and the gratitude of all the Spanish by his prudent behavior and his kindness of heart. He is beloved by the townspeople; and on these accounts I regard him as entitled to the favor of your Excellency likewise.

There are other churches established, at which there are no priests for lack of clergy, and others still to be established in order to carry out the plan of His Excellency the said Conde. [The number of clergy needed will be] eighteen, including the six who are to remain in this capital.

SUPPORT OF THE CLERGY AND CHARGES LEVIED FOR THE CHURCH BUILDINGS.

Your Excellency should be informed that these parish priests are supported by the piety of the king, for the benefit of the subjects here, without their being assessed for the slightest contribution on any pretext. Each clergyman receives a stipend which is regarded as sufficient, so that with his fees and a house better than ordinary, given by the public, which is occupied by the body of the clergy, without charges for lodging, they have an abundant provision for a decent and honorable support, as befits their station.

The king has likewise allowed an annual sum for the church building [*fabrica*], but custom has also granted a right to the fees for seats in the church, which are rented each year for a fixed sum, as the tombs are made to afford an income among us, the rate decreasing from the nearest to the most remote. Here all the women attend divine service in their wrappers, as they do in all France, especially at vespers and high mass. In this point it does not seem to me best to make innovations.

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[4] Father Stanislaus.

[5] It is not certain when Father Valentin came to St. Louis. This letter indicates that he was in St. Louis in 1772, but it also appears that in that year he lived at Arkansas Post. The St. Louis church records show that he first officiated there at the funeral of William Bissette, June 6th, 1773. He remained in St. Louis until 1775 and then removed to Kaskaskia, where he remained until 1783.

The senior warden [*el mayordomo*] provides the tools for the burials, the use of them belonging to the church. Sometimes he also provides the wax, the church benefiting thereby, in conformity to the provisions of the holy Synod *de Cura*.* As for the other fees for interments, I am convinced that the parish priests make them their own. Baptisms and marriages are dispensed without fees; but the poorest always leave an offering of a moderate amount. The officiant has his share of this, and it is divided among three lay singers, to whom they give the name of *chantres*. They assume their cassocks and surplices to take their part in the service, and receive an allowance from the funds to maintain the church edifice, as do also some choir boys, for the same purpose.

There is also a beadle [*suiso*] besides a verger [*veedor*.] The first is a man dressed in a blue uniform, with a scarlet scarf. He carries a pike, and in this guise attends the divine service. His function is to prevent irreverence in the sacred edifice, and to repress conversation.

The second is properly speaking a sacristan receiving small wages. These two are inferior servants of the church, supported by fees rather than by regular payments.

THE CHARITY HOSPITAL.

Consecrated bread is given on feast days at the high mass, at the expense of the parishioners. The most solemn [*i.e.*, the expenses of the provision of bread for the most solemn festivals] are divided among the persons of rank, not excepting the king. At these festivals, and at the proper time, a lady comes out with a gentleman, carrying a purse in her hand and soliciting alms for the support of the Charity Hospital, which has almost no other support than the piety of the faithful.

This hospital is under the direction of the church, as a pious work, and of the governor, acting as royal vice-patron. According to custom, the two, in an assembly of some of the townspeople, choose an administrator to receive the alms, and a director to oversee the expenditures, and to take care of the receipts of the former. The whole is administered at the present day with great honesty, exactness, and good management. They present their accounts before the same assembly, with their books at hand; and after examination the books have their approval written at the foot of the accounts, in the same manner in which an inspector registers his approval when he finds the management of what he inspects proper.

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* Lib. 3, tit. 6, *de Sepultaris* (*sic*), *i.e.*, Book 3, Section 6, of Sepultures.

THE CONVENT OF NUNS.

This is under the direction of the ordinary, as is proper. The nuns, who are very few in number, are supported by the king, just as the Capuchins are. The king also pays an allowance for the maintenance and education of a number of orphan girls, whom the nuns keep withdrawn from the world. The convent has one dwelling[6] with some slaves, and another without. The administration is under the prioress, who lives in seclusion, and of the chaplain, who does not understand it. They make no progress, and their state is like that of the fathers, which instead of producing anything for them is only a source of expense, for lack of intelligence and good management.

The excessive good nature of Father Dagobert allows, and even assents to the presence in the Capuchins' house of young negresses and mulatresses, their slaves, sometimes born to the women of their dwelling [*habitacion*]. This is contrary to the provisions of the holy canons, and the prudence of Your Excellency will be able to provide a remedy for this evil without applying the cautery to the sick man.

AUTHORITY OF THE VICAR (*i.e.*, of the Bishop).

The bishop of Quebec seems to have delegated to his vicar in this province authority to give dispensations of twice calling of the banns, and as far as to the third degree of consanguinity in the case of marriages, which may be celebrated either in dwellings or houses[7] according to the judgment of the vicar, but which are ordinarily celebrated in church by the wish of the parties. Among the French marriage is a very solemn contract and a sacrament of felicity [*felicidades*].

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[6] *Havitacion*, translated plantation by Gayarré. No Spanish authority can be found for this meaning. Littré gives one definition of *habitation*, French, as landed estate, in the colonies.

[7] *Ya en las casas ya en las havitaciones;* very likely as Gayarré translates. at the residence in town or country.

LAWS AND ANCIENT CUSTOMS OF THE TERRITORY.

Minors cannot contract marriage without the express consent of their parents; and marriages contracted otherwise are declared null and called clandestine. Since taking their daughters from them [*i.e.*, since taking away their authority by a change of law] is a harsh thing. Your Excellency will decide what course to follow in an important matter, upon which public tranquillity depends.

No one is forced to conform to the church, and the name of excommunication is hateful; yet I assure your Excellency that the number of those who fail to conform is very small. The town is devout, and of edifying and respectful behavior in the sacred edifice.

Frequenting the sacraments is unknown, and is regarded as hypocrisy and as a familiarity with the most Holy Sacrament, the mystery of which they adore with the utmost reverence and humility.

Hence it comes that they receive the first communion on entering the years of puberity, going to high mass dressed in white, and with a veil of the same color fastened on their head by ribbons.

Only the governor, the priests, the senior warden for the time being, and those who pay a hundred pesos toward the support of the church building are given sepulture within it. The rest of the faithful are buried without other expense than undertakers' charges in the cemetery, which is apart, opposite the hospital, and is situated on the edge of the city. It has the shape of a square, and is walled to prevent irreverent treatment of so religious a place, in imitation of the custom which prevailed many centuries after the establishment of the Church.

The latter enjoys no immunity, and its jurisdiction is entirely limited to purely spiritual matters, without there being in this region anything to form a basis for contention.

Betrothals, and the annulment and validation of marriages, and divorces, perpetual or temporary, are all under the jurisdiction of the secular power. Even the crimes of ecclesiastics are not exempted. Marriage is regarded as a secular contract, entirely, and the clergy, as in France, have been deprived of all privileges denied to other subjects.

To establish the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in this province without causing disturbance or scandal, the vicar will decide the least important matters within his jurisdiction orally and without severity; those in which some documentary proceedings shall be necessary he shall decide by means of brief records, without making an ostentatious show of his jurisdiction and without costs; but if the matter shall be grave, as the nullification of a marriage, its validation, perpetual divorce, or betrothals in cases in which the circumstances because of the parties or the facts arouse such attention as to make the proceedings of substantial importance, he shall go so far as to put the documents in shape to be sent to Your Excellency or to your vicar-general of Havana for decision, leaving a written report. In case [*or*, since] the Father Vicar is not a jurist, Your Excellency may provide that he shall consult with an auditor, giving him a notary from the Capuchins referred to who may act in such cases. In this way, if Your Excellency approves, our laws and customs may be insensibly introduced by temporizing with those of the inhabitants and natives here; and this is the course which I have followed myself, not without results.

The entries in the parish records from the time when Your Excellency takes the reins of government should be set down in our Castilian language in this capital. In the rural settlements, where the priest is French and his parishioners are the same there is no change; let them do what they can keeping the substance of the thing.

It is certainly very easy to have the books in which the records are to be entered of the number and arrangement prescribed by the holy Synod of the bishopric.[†] At the present they are in notable disorder, absurdity, and carelessness.

Those condemned to death receive only the sacrament of penance; but there is no objection to putting into effect the provision of our laws, of which the same synod makes mention.[‡]

It seems that all those clergy who are employed should be retained, but in the case of Father Dagobert, it should be only for one year. In that time the Spanish Fathers can be instructed, and one of them may be appointed vicar and parish priest, on the ground that a man who has labored so much is entitled to rest. But he always delights in officiating, and he is passionately devoted to chanting the service. The other clergy will take the work assigned them by the vicar, with the approval of the royal vice-patron. All are to have the cure of souls; and they will sometimes be put here, sometimes be sent there, as need shall require. With resignation as the sons of obedience, they will accept this state of things.

Nueva Orleans, July 11, 1772.

[†] Lib. 1, Const. 6, tit. 7: *de Oficio Vicarii Rect.* [*i. e.*, Bk. 1, Canon 6, Section 7: of the duties of the parish priest.]

[‡] Libro. 3, Const. 4, tit. 12, *de Custodia Euchariste et Chrismatis.* [*i. e.*, Bk. 3. Canon 4, Sec. 12, of the keeping of the consecrated host and chrism.]

XXV

THE HABITANTS OF STE. GENEVIEVE REMONSTRATE AGAINST THE INNOVATION OF TITHES BY FATHER HILAIRE—HIS COMPLAINTS.

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

DEAR SIR: I send Your Lordship the enclosed petition presented to me by the habitants of Santa Genoveva because of the innovation of the tithes, which the most reverend Father Hilario is attempting to exact from them, who is not satisfied with the customary ones established in this country, and to which Father Valentin, parish priest of San Luis conforms, in order that Your Lordship may deign to examine it and take what measures you consider advisable.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years. San Luis, July 9, 1774. Your Lordship's most affectionate and assured servant kisses your hands. PEDRO PIERNAS (rubric).

Addressed: "Don Luis de Unzaga."

[Petition from French Habitants:]

To Monsieur Don Pedro Piernas, lieutenant-governor for His Catholic Majesty in the country of Yllinois.

Monsieur: The undersigned habitants of Sainte Genevieuve find it necessary to demand your justice against an attempt of Father Hilaire. If that attempt were carried out, it would deprive them of their lands. We were strangely surprised on hearing him announce to us last Sunday that we were to pay him the tenth of all the produce of our lands, although he is not at all ignorant that hitherto we have paid no more than the twenty-sixth part; that a constant and uninterrupted custom has without doubt been regulated to our days by the royal power and the ecclesiastical assembly; and that His Catholic Majesty, fortunately, and according to all the wise laws to which we are and always shall be very submissive, has not considered it advisable to inform us that he has changed anything in this regard. Consequently, it cannot be annulled by one single religious. We are surprised at seeing this attempt made by a religious, who, since he has been among us, has given no instruction to the children or preached a sermon, or given an exhortation to his parishioners. We have not in any way endeavored to relax the old custom in regard to Father Hilaire, and we would be willing, if our powers permitted, to make a greater sacrifice, but our poverty does not permit us to do it, for we find it very difficult to support our families. We pay the fifth [a royal tax] to the mill, [*i.e.*, the fifth of the meal ground as a toll], as well as the defense of our boundaries; the beadle serves him for twenty sols per livre; labor is excessively dear, as well as the things of the first and indispensable need; which together with the intemperateness of the climate and the other calamity that from three harvests, there is nothing else left for us of it, than air, which, although it is good, is not sufficient for the support of our families, through the want of a market, the dearness of merchandise, the robberies of the savages, together with our other means of impossibility.

Another surprise on our part was for us to hear that Father Hilaire has forbidden us all spiritual aid from the religious of the other bank [of the river], in his absence. We are unaware of the reason which imposes so severe a law on us.

Consider, Monsieur, that the undersigned habitants petition you most humbly to interpose your authority in order to cause their evils and their alarm to cease by permitting Father Hilaire to leave the parish if he refuses to conform to the old custom of compensation and to administer to us as a good pastor, the necessary instruction and exhortation for the salvation of our souls. The suppliants will not cease to offer prayers for your prosperity and preservation. Sainte Genevieve, June 6, 1774.

Mark of
Larose[1]
Mark of
Rosier[2]
Carpentier[3]
Salumandier[4]
Mark of
Biyas[5]
Luis Lacroix
Mark of
Beauvais
Mark of
Baptiste La Croix
Mark of
Tangelice (*sic* in transcript).[6]
Mark of
Quire[7]

Mark of
PIER ROP[8]
Mark of
LALANDE
Mark of
LANFENES[9]
Mark of
ADELMAR[10]
DIELLE[11]
VIGNON
Mark of
BOUCHE[12]
Mark of
ROBINET
LOUIS FROSSEUR[13]
JOSEPH MOITIEU[14]
REGIS LA SOURCE[15]
LOUIS LA SOURCE[16]
VALLE, JR.
PRATTE
PIERRE OBUCHON[17]
PAUL LA BROSSE[18]
JEAN CLAIRENT[19]
HIPPOLITE ROBERT
FRAY CHEAU[20]
Mark of
OBUCOUS[21]
Mark of
DUDON

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[1] Andre de Guire, dit La Rose.

[2] Probably De Rousse.

[3] Henri Charpentier.

[4] Francois Lalumandiere, dit Lafleur.

[5] Buyatte.

[6] Tonnelier.

[7] De Guire.

[8] Perio.

[9] Lafernait or Laferne.

[10] Bellmar.

[11] François Diel.

[12] Boucher or Bouchet.

[13] Louis Vasseur.

[14] Joseph Moitie.

[15] Jean Baptiste Regis Thaumur, dit la Source.

[16] Louis Thaumur, dit la Source.

[17] Pierre Aubuchon.

[18] Paul la Brosse, a native of Montreal, came over from Fort de Chartres to Ste. Genevieve. He married Marie Langevin of Prairie des Rocher as appears from the St. Anne church records.

[19] This name may stand for Clairmont or Clermont, a name found among the first settlers of the Illinois country.

[20] Probably Franchoille, the name of a Kaskaskia family, or may be Franquior or Francoeur.

[21] Aubuchon.

[Letter from Piernas:]

DEAR SIR: The most reverend Father Hilario[22] having petitioned me to inform Your Lordship that unless he has the aid of some slave to act as servant, it is impossible for him to maintain or exercise the duties of his ministry with the propriety demanded by the dignity of his person, and that for lack of this regular aid, he has not been able to determine for his own ordinary, I do so, informing Your Lordship, in consequence, both in order to comply, as I ought with the desires of the above-mentioned father, and since I am convinced of his necessity, for which if it is possible, I beg Your Lordship to deign to consider by providing for the sending of servants whom he has been petitioning for some time, and which he hopes to obtain through Your Lordship's consideration.

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[22] Father Hilaire de Géneveaux was Superior of the Capuchin monks sent from the province of Champagne, France, to Louisiana. Prior to 1755 the Jesuits were in control of spiritual matters in Louisiana and a Jesuit vicar-general appointed by the bishop of Quebec was the principal ecclesiastical functionary in New Orleans. When Father Hilaire arrived, who was a man of learning, great energy and ability, the conflict which prior to his arrival had been slumbering, broke out with great vehemence and Father Hilaire. without stating his purpose, went to Rome and returned with the title of Apostolic Prothonotary, and then claimed that by virtue of this office he was superior to the vicar general of the bishop of Quebec in ecclesiastical matters in Louisiana. The quarrel only ended when shortly after the Jesuit order was suppressed in France and the French possessions. The triumph of Father Hilaire, however, endured but for a short time, for when afterward the Superior Council endeavored to enlist him in the movement to expel the Spanish governor Ulloa he distinctly objected and refused to comply with the demands of the Council, and in consequence he was removed from his position as superior in Louisiana and expelled from the colony, and Father Dagobert appointed in his place, and this appointment was confirmed by the head of the order in France on the statement that Father Hilaire had "run away to the English." When O'Reilly came up to New Orleans with the Spanish troops Father Hilaire reappeared and made his claims, but O'Reilly sided with the Father Dagobert, who was very popular with the French residents. Father Hilaire then seemed to submit to the jurisdiction of Father Dagobert, secluded himself in his cell, devoted to study. But on the arrival of the Spanish Capuchins he emerged from his cell and with all his vigor began to assail the practices of his confrères and the controversy between the Spanish Capuchins and Father Dagobert continued for some time. Father Dagobert was much worried and petitioned Unzaga, that he might be protected from the abuse which Father Hilaire was in the "habit of doing". Father Dagobert, however, was not displaced and Father Hilaire in 1772 was curé of Ste. Genevieve. Here, too, he had trouble, as shown by the petition of the people and these letters, because he claimed tithes. It also seems from the Ste. Genevieve church records that he did not keep the records of the parish as carefully as was required, and Father Bernard was sent from St. Louis to straighten out these records after his departure or removal. Father Hilaire was a man much superior intellectually, to the other members of his order who came over from France. Unzaga says of him that he was a good man and "that his talents make him very useful to the church, although his pride disqualifies him from the position of chief or superior." After he left Ste. Genevieve I have not been able to find his name elsewhere in Louisiana, and suppose that he returned to the motherhouse in France.

May God preserve the life of Your Lordship many years. San Luis, November 16, 1774. Your Lordship's most affectionate and assured servant kisses your hands.

Pedro Piernas (rubric).

Addressed: "Don Luis de Unzaga."

[Letter regarding tithes:]

Nueva Orleans, February 20, 1775.

After reflection over the report made me by Your Grace, July 9th, of last year, in regard to the impossibility of the parish priest of Santa Genoveva being maintained, and after having taken the necessary steps so that he may be aided by one servant to whom he is reduced, it results that since there is not a slave in the mission who desires to leave his country, and fearing that if anyone be forced to do so, the parish priest would be left without him, and the mission lose him, it has been resolved by the superior of them that 50 pesos fuertes shall be given to the said parish priest annually, so that he may procure in that post a person who will hire himself out to him for this purpose. That sum shall commence to be paid from January first, and shall be given to the person authorized by him.

In regard to the complaint of the habitants against the same father, let it be resolved that the custom shall not be altered in any way, and the commandant shall not tolerate the introduction of any innovation in this matter.

It is to be noted and must be borne in mind, that the King has absolute control of the tithes in these kingdoms, and although their payment is a matter of his royal interest, in order to show his royal love to this province, he not only does not wish to exact them for his treasury, but has also considered it fitting to maintain the parish priests. Consequently, it is not right, while the King supports them, for them to try to get another fee, which would mean a double compensation and a very large one.

Great favor is shown to the parish priests of that post in tolerating the custom that those habitants pay. The same shall be told to said parish priest on this occasion, so that he may be informed and not dare to demand from his parishioners in the future more than what they are accustomed to pay.

Luis de Unzaga y Amezaga (rubric).

Addressed: "Don Pedro Piernas."

XXVI

INVENTORY OF PAPERS AND OTHER EFFECTS DELIVERED BY PIERNAS TO HIS SUCCESSOR, DON FRANCISCO CRUZAT, MAY 19, 1775.

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

DEAR SIR: I am sending Your Lordship the inventory or report of all the papers and other effects which were given me by Don Pedro Piernas, relating to the military government of which I have taken charge; and in regard to the political goverment, he has also delivered me from the archives all the documents which are deposited therein.

I inform Your Lordship that of the effects of the King which were to be sold, according to the inventory delivered me by Don Pedro Piernas, all the iron equipment of the door of a fort has been sold at the price of one hundred libras, twelve sueldos and six dineros[1] in skins, payable by the month of next May. There is nothing more to sell than a brass mortar with its pestle which remains in my possession, so that I may sell it whenever I get a chance, unless Your Lordship orders otherwise. I am sending Your Lordship the receipt of Don Francisco Vallé for the four thousand eight hundred pesos which the treasurer delivered to me so that by means of it that which I left in the accountancy may be cancelled.

May our Lord preserve Your Lordship's life many years. San Luis, June 14, 1775.

Your Lordship's most humble subject kisses Your Lordship's hands. FRANCISCO CRUZAT (rubric).

Addressed: "Don Luis de Unzaga y Amezaga."

INVENTORY:

Inventory and report of the papers, instructions, orders, and other documents, corresponding to the civil and military government of the post of Los Ylinneses, which the lieutenant-governor of that post, Don Pedro Piernas delivers to his successor, Don Francisco Cruzat, on this day, May nineteen, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five.

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[1] The equivalent of the French forms "livres," "sous," and "deniers.' *Sueldo* was originally a small Roman coin. The word in the Spanish language also means wages.

Firstly: A special set of instructions for the lieutenant-governor of the villages of San Luis, Santa Genoveva, and the districts of the Misuri river from Count de O'Reylly, under date of February 17, 1770.

Another set of special instructions for the administration of justice both in civil and in criminal matters, pertaining to the lieutenant-governor; dated January 26, 1770.

A set of instructions, printed in the French language, for the method of substantiating and determining civil and criminal causes and other ordinary judgments for the province in general.

Another like set of regulations in the Spanish language.

A set of instructions, printed in French, for the management and government of the special lieutenants of the coasts[2] and other posts dependent on the governor-general of the province.

Two copies, printed in French, for the regulation and concession of land.

Two printed copies, concerning the method and obligations pertaining to surgeons.

A compilation in French of the orders published in the villages of San Luis and Santa Genoveva by order of His Excellency Count de O'Reilly.

A note of the pay given in Los Ylinneses, signed by His Excellency, Señor O'Reylly.

A report of the documents delivered by Don Pedro Piernas to Don Francisco Vallé, special lieutenant of Santa Genoveva for his government and method of procedure.

A list of the militia company of the village of San Luis, giving the names, height, age, nationality and profession of those comprised in it on the day of its formation.

Another of the same, with high and low marks [*notas de alta y baxa*] received from the day of its formation until May 19, 1775.

Another report, of those in the company of the above-said May 19th of the said year.

Three other reports, like the preceding, of the militia company of the village of Santa Genoveva.

A copy of the inventory, which was made and the appraisal of the effects which were found in the King's storehouse of the village of San Luis after the desertion of the storekeeper, Monsieur Lefevre Debruisseau on August 22, 1777 [*sic* in transcript; *sc.*, 1771] the original of which was sent to the general government of the province.

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[2] That is to say the settlements on the west bank of the river.

Another copy of the above-mentioned inventory, appraised with the sale of all the effects contained therein and the prices detailed of each article; dated July 9, 1772, of which the original has also been sent to the general government of the province.

A compilation, or copy, of all the orders despatched to the lieutenant-governor, Don Pedro Piernas, and published in the post of San Luis during his command, for the maintenance of good order, quiet, and tranquillity in the said village and in the other villages of his district.

Two contracts with Don Pedro Laclede — one in regard to the provision of bread for the supply of the Indian tribes who usually come to get presents from the King during their stay in San Luis; and the other belonging to the rent of the house which is used as a barracks by the troops of said post, both dated May 20, 1770.

Two other contracts of Don Francisco Vallé, for the supply of corn to the tribes, and for the rent of the house which is used as a barracks by the troops of the village of Santa Genoveva — the two also dated May 20, 1770.

A report of the presents, in detail, which are distributed to the twelve tribes of Indians and their respective chiefs, set aside by His Excellency Count de O'Reylly; and the six tribes added of La Bella Riviera [*i.e.*, Belle Rivière or Ohio] of the English district, according to article 72, of the instructions of His above-mentioned Excellency.

A report of the bread and corn consumed by the tribes who come to receive the presents which are set aside for them in the post according to the regulations of said supply for the future.

Information regarding the tribes with whom we generally trade in the dependency of the Misuri river, with a note of the number of traders who can be assigned to each tribe, and the amount of merchandise which is sufficient for them to assure the outcome of their trade among them.

An act or stamped position [*posicion de sello*] with collection of keys which was affected by Don Luis St. Ange in regard to the effects of the King's store, immediately after the escape of the storekeeper, Monsieur Lefevre Debruisseau, including, also, those found in the very house of the said storekeeper, May 14, 1770.[3]

An inventory in the French language, made by Don Louis St. Ange of the effects found in the house of the storekeeper, Monsieur Lefevre Debruisseau, belonging to the same person after this flight May 28, 1770; inserted in it a receipt of the clothes which he wore, which were delivered to said storekeeper in order that he might descend to Nueva Orleans.

A declaration of Joseph Segond, dated May 30, 1770, of various effects which he received from the storekeeper, Monsieur Lefevre Debruiseau, after his escape to the English district, inserted therein a certificate of the above-mentioned storekeeper and a letter from a habitant of Okas,[4] named Blovin.[5]

An inventory in the French language, drawn up by Don Luis St. Ange, of the effects found in the King's store after the flight of the storekeeper Monsieur Lefevre Debruisseau, May 31, 1770, enclosed in which was a certificate of the diminution of powder which was found, in order to prove [*constatar*] the cause by which it was produced when its weight was examined; dated December 29, 1770; and a report of the expenses which were incurred on the days taken for the making of said inventory.

A declaration of the storekeeper, Monsieur Lefevre Debruisseau, received after his arrest, January 7, 1770, with some letters enclosed from Monsieur Blovin, habitant of the English district relative to them.

Another declaration of the same on the 8th of the above-mentioned month and year.

An inventory in French of the effects belonging to the storekeeper, Monsieur Lefevre Debruiseau, of the slaves and possessions fixed and movable that remained after his flight in charge of Don Luis St. Ange, and which the latter delivered to Augusto Condé[6] who received them in order to take charge of their conversation, and in whose power they remain with the obligation of producing them whenever they are required; dated May 22, 1770.[7]

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[3] This was a son of Joseph Lefebre D'Inglebert des Bruisseau who came to St. Louis with St. Ange and died there in 1767. He died in New Orleans in 1770.

[4] Kaskaskia.

[5] Daniel Blouin, a merchant of Kaskaskia.

[6] The first physician of St. Louis, Dr. Auguste Andre Condé, came from Fort de Chartres. He was "chirurgien pour le Roy aux Illinois" there. A native of Bordeaux; son of Mons. Arnauld Condé, a merchant. In 1763 he married Marie la Ferne, a native of Mobile, and daughter of Pierre Ignace Bardet de la Ferne, also a "chirurgien major pour le Roy" at Nouvelle Chartres. His wife's sister married Pierre Francois des Bruisseau, the absconding storekeeper. Dr. Condé died in St. Louis in November, 1776.

A formulary of the certificate which is to be given for the collection of the rents of the houses which are used as barracks by the troops of the posts of San Luis and Santa Genoveva, according to contracts of May 20, 1770, by Don Pedro Laclade and Don Francisco Vallé.

Another of the same for the collection of the amount for the rations of bread and corn which are given to the Indians who come to receive their presents at the post of San Luis.

A statement of the effects found in the fort of San Carlos, constructed at the entrance of the Misuri river, of which a copy was sent to the governor-general of the province; dated June 7, 1770.

A formulary of the duplicate receipts which are to be given to Don Francisco Vallé for the receipt of 400 pesos monthly belonging to the presents and pay of officers and troops of the detachment of Ylinneses.

A copy of the agreement which was made with the tribes of the Little Osages and Misuris for the surrender of the homicides, and in regard to other outrages and thefts which the Indians of the above-mentioned tribe and others of the dependencies of the Misuri river committed against the vassals of His Catholic Majesty.

Three silver medals on which is engraved the effigy of His Majesty for the principal chiefs of the tribes.

A statement of the ammunition and other war supplies delivered by Don Pedro Piernas to his successor, Don Francisco Cruzat for the events which might offer for the Royal service and defense of the posts of Los Ylinneses.

An inventory, including all the records and papers deposited in the archives of the Post of San Luis, belonging to the civil and political government.

Two printed copies, showing the method of registering the records, contracts, and mortages.

All the papers included in the preceding inventory are those which I have delivered to my successor, Don Francisco Cruzat, and I attest the same in San Luis, May 19, 1775.

PEDRO PIERNAS (rubric).

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[7] The transcript gives the date 1779. Evidently a mistake which I correct in text to 1770.

XXVII

APPLICATION OF PIERNAS FOR APPOINTMENT AS LIEUTENANT-COLONEL—DETAILING HIS MILITARY AND OTHER SERVICES—DATED AUGUST, 1775, AND HIS APPOINTMENT DATED MAY 1, 1776.

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Audiencia of Santo Domingo, Luisiana, and Florida — Papers and petitions of 1776 — Estante 86; Cajón 7; Legajo 23.

SIRE: Don Pedro Piernas, senior captain of the battalion of infantry of Luisiana, lays before the royal feet of Your Majesty the following statement:

He has been in Your Majesty's service twenty-nine years and seven months; seven years, seven months, and twenty-eight days as cadet; six years, four months and twenty-nine days as sublieutenant; seven years five months, and five days as lieutenant; and the rest as captain in active service, fulfilling to the satisfaction of his superiors the commissions entrusted to his charge. He studied the mathematical course, was in the garrison of the fort at Ceuta four years and nine months with his regiment, that of Leon, and went thence to continue his service in America with the Spanish force assembled at Corunna, June 1, 1765, to form the guard of Luisiana. Here he has remained for nine years and five months, during which time he has exercised the functions of civil and military governor in command of the forts of San Luis de Natches, and San Carlos del Misuri; and afterwards those of lieutenant-governor of the settlements of Ylinueses and their dependencies in the vicinity. Here he has prudently prepared the way for the establishment of the Spanish form of government, customs, and civilization, and has laid under pledges the many diverse tribes of savage Indians, who are giving up their former behavior, the tranquil state of the country keeping them content in the respect which they owe to Your Majesty.

Wherefore, and in view of the meritorious record of the father of the petitioner during forty-eight years in your Majesty's service.

This humble petition is offered that Your Majesty will deign to confer on the petitioner the rank of lieutenant-colonel, in order that with this additional spur to honor he may continue to deserve well, to the sacrifice of his life in the service of Your Majesty. This grace he hopes to merit of your royal clemency.

PEDRO PIERNAS.[1]

SIRE: I am assured of the services of this officer by the testimonials which he has presented and by my personal knowledge of what he has done in this region among the settlements of Ylinueses during the five years which he has spent there in efficient service of Your Majesty. Nueva Orleans, August 5, 1775.

LUIS DE UNZAGA Y AMESAGA.

SIRE: I am assured of the fact that this officer has served Your Majesty with efficiency for more than twenty-nine years; seven years and (blank in original) months as captain; and that he has recently been serving in the settlements of Ylinueses, as has been set forth by the governor of Nueva Orleans. For these reasons, and inasmuch as he is the senior officer of his rank, and no one will be prejudiced by the grace which he asks, I regard him as a suitable person upon whom to confer the rank of lieutenant-colonel, for which he asks. Your Majesty will decide according to your royal pleasure.

Port of Sta. Maria, April 2, 1776.

EL CONDE DE O'REILLY.

DON CARLOS, by the grace of God, King of Castile, Leon, Aragon, etc. [The king's title follows].

Whereas, in consideration of the merits and good services of you, Don Pedro Piernas, captain of the battalion of infantry of the province of Luysiana, I have determined to confer upon you the rank of lieutenant-colonel of infantry in the army;

Therefore, I command the captains general, commanding officers [*gobernadores de las Armas*], and other chief officers of all ranks and the officers and soldiers of my armies to hold and regard you as such lieutenant-colonel of infantry; and to observe and cause to be observed the honors, privileges, preëminences, and immunities which by reason of the said rank pertain to you, and should be observed well and perfectly, for such is my will. And I command the governor and commandant general of the said province to give the appropriate order for entering and recording this commission in the proper chief auditor's bureau of the royal treasury.

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[1] For further biographical sketch of Piernas, see Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 22, note 46.

Given at Aranjuez, May 1, 1776.

DUPLICATE.

[Endorsed: Your Majesty confers the rank of lieutenant-colonel upon Don Pedro Piernas, captain of the battalion of infantry of Luysiana.]

XXVIII

LETTER OF CRUZAT TO GALVEZ EXPLAINING WHY HE SENT A MESSENGER TO THE SAC AND RENARD INDIANS IN THE ENGLISH ILLINOIS DISTRICT, DATED NOVEMBER 26, 1777.

General Archives of the Indies—Seville—Papers proceeding from the Island of Cuba.

Dear Sir:

In reply to Your Lordship's letter of August 11th, of the present year, in which Your Lordship disapproved of the resolve which I took in regard to the pirogue which I determined to send to the tribes of the Sacs and Arnaz [*sc.*, Renards] established in the English district in order to ransom the slaves held by them of the Misuri tribe settled in our district, because of not having requested and obtained in good form a permit from the commander, after explaining to him sincerely the reasons that obliged me to do it; and that for that cause the English are spreading arguments to the effect that the Spaniards are sending subjects to draw away the tribes located in their domains: I can do no less than to confess to Your Lordship, in this particular, my neglect and heedlessness in not having informed you in my letter of the manner in which I bore myself on that occasion with the said [English] commandant. But, in order that Your Lordship may have information and may recognize my method of action in this particular, and the want of motive which the vassals of His Britannic Majesty have for spreading such reports, I am enclosing for Your Lordship the exact copy of what I wrote to said commandant before despatching said pirogue. In that letter I begged him not only to concede me a passport, but also a letter for the merchants who could be found in that district, so that they might, for the satisfaction of all, meet with the man whom I was sending only for the purpose of making peace among the Indian tribes and of ransoming the slaves of the Misuris whom the said tribe had in their power, and not in order to withdraw the tribes, as they have informed Your Lordship. [I also send you] the exact copy of the original, which I have in my possession, of the reply of the said commandant, in which he enclosed me the said passport, in as ample form as I could desire, and the letter for said merchants. With those two documents which were carried by the man commissioned by me, I determined to despatch the above mentioned pirogue. I am very sorry that my heedlessness has been the motive of so great anger to Your Lordship, but I do not doubt that you will recognize that throughout it has squared with the intentions and order of Your Lordship yourself.

On the 16th of the month of last August, the above-mentioned man arrived at this village on his return, together with the four trappers with five slaves whom they had ransomed, four of whom belonged to the Pioria tribe,[1] which has been settled there since this last spring in the village of Ocá[2] in the English district. I immediately sent them to the special lieutenant, Don Francisco Vallé, in order that he might send them back to said tribe. He has informed me that he has done so. The four from said Misuris were given to three savages who were then in this village. They immediately departed for their destination, and I have heard that they arrived very happily. In what regards the remainder, the two chiefs of the Sacs and Arnez [Renards] sent to tell me that they did not give them up, because the said Misuris and Little Osages wished to go to get them, in order that they might thus be more certain of the peace which they had made by means of the peace pipe and collar which I had given them. I believe they will execute that this winter, and I advise Your Lordship thereof, so that you may be advised thereof.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years. San Luis de Ylinoeses, November 26, 1777. Your most affectionate servant kisses Your Lordship's hands.

FRANCISCO CRUZAT (rubric).

Addressed: "Don Bernardo de Galvez."[3]

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[1] There is evidently some error here. The text seems to require a statement to the effect that there was one Peoria Indian and four Misouris.

[2] Kaskaskia.

[3] Don Bernardo de Galvez was appointed governor of Louisiana in 1777. He was at the time only 21 years of age but his uncle Don Joseph de Galvez was one of the most powerful nobles of Spain — secretary of state and president of the council of the Indies, and his father Don Mathias de Galvez was viceroy of Mexico. This no doubt accounts for his appointment. When Spain declared war against England in 1779, Galvez made active preparations for the conquest of East and West Florida, a scheme the practicability of which Col. Geo. Morgan had urged upon him before this time. He captured Baton Rouge, Manchac, Natchez, and afterwards Mobile and Pensacola — in fact drove the

Letter to Monsieur de Rocheblave, Commandant of the English District, referred to by Don Francisco Cruzat.

SIR:

The general welfare which I believe will result from having peace made between the tribes of the little Osages and the Misuris of the dependency of my government and the Sacs and Renards who are located in your district, compels me to give you advice that I am disposed to send an express messenger to these latter tribes to obtain and get from them ten Misuris whom they made prisoners last spring, if you find no obstacle therein for this purpose. I beg you to please participate in the views of pacification which cause me to act by sending me a letter for the English merchants who may be among those tribes, so that on receiving your letter, they will allow my envoy to have access to the chiefs, to whom I address it in order that I may obtain the end which I have proposed. I desire, sir, that the merchants may be present at the words which he will speak to them in my name, in order to remove all suspicion, as I have for my principal object naught else than that of proving to you that I shall seek on every occasion the true means of observing and causing to be observed by the one to whom I shall commit it, the concord which my prince desires to exist between these subjects and those of the king of Great Britain. It is with such sentiments that I ask you to send me the letter in question and a permit for my envoy, so that there might not be any obstacle which will destroy the results which I expect from my wish of seeing the tribes at peace.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, etc., San Luis, June 12, 1777.

Reply of the Commandant of the English District, Monsieur de Rocheblave, to the preceding.

SIR:

Your purpose is too praiseworthy not to concur in it, at least with approval while waiting until circumstances permit us to really do

English out of both Floridas. This brilliant campaign secured him the rank of lieutenant-general. He was decorated with the cross of the Order of Charles III, made a count, and received the commission of captain general of the province of Lousiana and the Floridas. In 1785 he was also appointed captain general of Cuba, and upon the death of his father viceroy of Mexico. He died at the age of 38, while viceroy of Mexico. In New Orleans he married Felicitas de St. Maxent, a daughter of the partner of Laclede. His predecessor, Don Louis de Unzaga also married a St. Maxent. Don Pedro Piernas served under him in his campaign against the English in Florida. Galveston Bay so named in honor of this family.

it, which all others or we ourselves shall try to effect this autumn or, at the latest, next spring, if he descends from the Sacs or Renards. While awaiting you will find enclosed here the letter and passport of which you did me the honor to speak to me in your last letter. I desire that it be at your will and you may be assured that I shall second with all my efforts so praiseworthy views.

It is with regret that I agree to the article of your letter, by which you ask for the presence of the merchants of the place in order to remove all suspicion. Your sentiments are too well known to me to act from motives so little worthy of you and of me. But since I have to manage a bold, and consequently, suspicious people, I believed it right to require it, rather because of the very different characters that compose the society of these places, than because of a motive of mistrust which would be greatly out of place. You will always find me ready to second and even to anticipate your views in the desire that not only peace and tranquillity reign between the subjects of the two monarchs, but also as much as it depends upon me among the independent beings who inhabit the vast forests of the two half nations and are only occupied in the chase, which is the sole employ which humanity ought to avow at the tribunal of conscience.

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect, sir, your most humble and obedient servant. ROCHEBLAVE.

Have the goodness not to seal the letter in case of meeting nearer.

Fort Gage,[3] June 18, 1777.

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[3] Name of the fort situated opposite Kaskaskia and on the left bank of the Kaskaskia river, overlooking the ancient village, and erected by the English after the treaty of Fontainbleau.

XXIX

REPORT OF INDIAN TRADERS GIVEN PASSPORTS BY DON FRANCISCO CRUZAT, DATED NOVEMBER 28, 1777.

DEAR SIR:

In view of what Your Lordship orders me in your letter of June 6th last, to the effect that I send notice of the subjects to whom passports have been conceded in order that they may trade with the Indians, and the trade of this post, I am sending Your Lordship under present covers the report of the subjects to whom permission has been granted this year to go up to trade with the tribes of the Misury, noting therein the tribe granted to each trader and the amount of merchandise which they have taken, as well as the quality and quantity of furs which they have sent down from said tribes this year, in exchange for the merchandise which was taken up the preceding year.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years. San Luis de Ylinneses, November 28, 1777. Your Lordship's most affectionate servant kisses your hands.

FRANCISCO CRUZAT (rubric).

Addressed: "Don Bernardo de Galvez."

[Report of fur-trade:]

Report showing the traders to whom permissions have been granted this year to ascend to the tribes with whom we are wont to have trade, who are settled on the Misury river; and the quantity of merchandise, its value in libras of deerskin, and the quantity and quality of furs which each tribe has produced in this present year corresponding to the merchandise which was taken up last year.

Tribes	Traders	Quantity of Merchandise; Its value in libras of deerskin	Packs of Otter	Packs of tanned deerskin	Packs of untanned deerskin	Packs of Beaver	Packs of Buckskin	Packs of Bearskin	Packs of Wildcat skins	Packs of Buffalo-skins
Big Osages	Agustin Choteau [Chouteau]	10,000								
	Silvestre Labadia [Labadie]	6,000	1	369	122	12	22	41	8	
	Alexo Rondeau [Longlois dit Rondeau]	3,000								
	Pedro Marly	2,000								
	Monsieur Beletre [Picote de Belestre]	3,100								
Little Osages	Luis Visonet [Bissonette]	2,200		146		4		3	1	
	Juan Cardinal	2,000								
Misuris	Joseph Labuciera [Labusciere]	2,200								
	Miguel Lami	3,100		80		1		2		
Canzes	Antonio Hubert[1]	4,000								
	Luis Lacrois [Lacroix]	3,200	1	150		7	3			
Republica	Don Eugenio Pore [Pureé]	3,200								
Mahas	Don [Jean] Baptista Martini [Martigny]	3,100	3	18	2	26	33		3	41
	Monsieur Chauvin	2,000								
Panis	Pedro Contabre[2]	2,500	1	1		17		1	10	6
	Baptista Duchene[3]	3,000								
Hotos	Joseph Laroche[4]	1,200	1	31	1	11	8	1	1	
	Total	55,800	7	795	125	78	66	48	23	47

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[1] A trader of St. Louis in 1768 who received a grant of a lot there. See contract made by him with Langlois, dit Rondeau in Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 257.

NOTE: That the furs which appear in the present report are produced by 56,347 libras of merchandise which were allowed to be taken among the tribes last year; and that the fur of the Republica tribe has not been able to be brought down, as the river of the Canzes has no water; that the Panis Mahas tribe, where a trader is usually sent, has again become incorporated with the tribe of the Panis Piques, who are settled in the territory of Nachitoches, who are threatened by the Sioux tribe, who are situated on the banks of Misisipy; that in addition to the furs above specified, the furs of the hunters of this district and the Indian tribes who generally come quite frequently to trade enter this village. San Luis de Ylinneses, November 1, 1777. FRANCISCO CRUZAT (rubric).

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[2] No such name among the residents west of the river. Think that this name probably stands to Jean Comparios — dit St. Pierre, or Gascon, a French soldier — who came to St. Louis with St. Ange. Died in St. Louis in 1778.

[3] Jean Baptiste Perrault dit Duchene.

[4] Probably a descendant of the Jos. Laroche — who lived in the village St. Anne, and died there in 1746.

XXX

REPORT OF THE INDIAN TRIBES WHO RECEIVE PRESENTS AT ST. LOUIS, DATED NOVEMBER 15, 1777.

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers proceeding from the Island of Cuba.

DEAR SIR:

In order to complete the report which Your Lordship requests in your letter of June sixth of the present year, concerning the Indian tribes who receive presents at this post, notwithstanding that I have not been able to draw it up with the minuteness that I would like and the detail that Your Lordship requests, as many of the most experienced persons who generally manage the tribes outside of this village, I send Your Lordship the enclosed report which I have drawn up according to the information which I have been able to acquire from those persons who have appeared most experienced with the tribes, both of our district and that of the English who have formerly generally traded with them. This is all of which I can inform Your Lordship in this particular.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years. San Luis de Ylinneses, December 6, 1777. Your Lordship's most affectionate servant kisses your hands.

FRANCISCO CRUZAT (rubric).

Addressed: "Don Bernardo de Galvez."

[Report:]

Summary of the Indian tribes of the Misuri river, who generally come to receive presents at this post, and the number of their warriors; the name of the principal chief of each tribe; the districts where they are located; their distances and directions from this village; in what each one is occupied; the profit or harm derived from each tribe in the past; and the enemies of each one.

LITTLE OSAGES.

The tribe of the Little Osages is composed, according to the information furnished by those experienced men who generally make annual trading voyages to them, of three hundred and fifty or four hundred warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Balafre [*i. e.*, the Scar]. Their location is one-half league from the shore of the Misuri river, distant some eighty-five leagues from this village. Their occupation has always been, and is, that of the hunt, whence comes the fur-trade that is carried on at this post. This tribe has always been, as a general rule, hostile to the tribes located on the Misisipy.

However, we have heard this year that they were about to make peace, although the truth of the statement has not yet been verified. And even should it become a fact, since this race is so extremely warlike, that for the consideration of a horse that the one steals from the other they break peace entirely, nothing can be based on this particular, nor can any individual information be given in this matter. Their work or occupation is sufficiently profitable for the fur-trade. The only harm experienced from this tribe in these settlements is the theft of some horses from the inhabitants, but one can usually succeed quite easily in inducing them to restore such animals.

MISURIS.

This tribe is composed of two hundred warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Kaige, and their location is on the very shores of the Misury river, distant about eighty-six or eighty-seven leagues from this village. Their occupation has always been, and is, that of the hunt; for although they generally plant a small quantity of maize each year, it is not sufficient even for their own support. This tribe is also hostile to all the tribes of the Misisipy, and under the same circumstances that we have mentioned when speaking of the Little Osages. The work of hunting in which they are occupied is sufficiently profitable for the trade of this post, as is witnessed by the fact that they annually produce eighty or ninety packs of furs. The only harm experienced from the people of this tribe is the theft of a few horses from the inhabitants of this district, although not so frequently as is the case with the Little Osages; and the detaining of the traders who ascend the river for the sole purpose of getting some guns, powder, bullets, and other things from them.

TRIBE OF THE CANCES [*i. e.*, KANSAS].

This tribe is composed of three hundred and fifty warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is El Comy [Le Commis?].

They are one hundred and fifty leagues from this village, and are located on the banks of the Misury river itself, at a distance of some fifty leagues from the tribe of the Misuris. Their occupation has always been, and is, that of the hunt; for although they generally plant a small quantity of maize, it does not, as a general rule, suffice for their necessary support. As a general thing, this tribe is hostile to the tribes of the said Misury river, named the Panis [*i. e.*, Pawnees] and La Republica [*i. e.*, Republic]. For this reason they generally cause a great deal of harm to the traders who are sent to those tribes, for they do not allow those traders to ascend the river in order that those tribes may be supplied with guns and ammunition. This is the only harm experienced from this tribe. However, we have heard that they were thinking this year of making peace. This tribe has always been hostile to all those of the Misisipy. From the work of the hunt in which they are engaged, there results the profits of the trade which are made in the furs; for every year that trade produces one hundred and eighty or two hundred packs.

TRIBE OF LA REPUBLICA [*i. e.*, REPUBLIC].

This tribe is composed of three hundred and fifty or four hundred warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Escatapé. They are located some two hundred and twenty leagues from this village, and about one hundred and ten from the Misury river on the shores of the Cances river, and about forty or fifty leagues from the village of the tribe of that name by land. The occupation of this tribe has always been, and is, that of the hunt, from which results the fur-trade of this post, especially that in the skins of beavers, buffaloes, and otters, while there are some packs of deerskins. This tribe is hostile to the tribes of the Cances and the Big Osages.

TRIBE OF THE HOTOS [*i. e.*, OTOES].

This tribe is composed of about one hundred warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is La Bala [*i. e.*, The Bullet]. They are located some two hundred and twenty leagues from this village, about ninety-five from the village of the Cances, and about fifteen leagues from the Misury river, on the shores of the Plata [*i. e.*, Platte] river. Their chief occupation has always been, and is, that of the hunt, especially that of deer and beaver. This tribe is hostile to the tribes of the Canzes, Big Osages, and the Cionco [Ponkas?], who are located on the Misisipy in the Spanish district.

TRIBE OF THE PANIS [*i. e.*, PAWNEES].

This tribe is composed of five or six hundred warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Sokakahige. They are located about two hundred and thirty leagues from this village, about fifteen leagues from the Hotos tribe, on a small stream branching off from the Plata river. Their occupation has always been, and is, that of the hunt in beavers, buffaloes, and some otters, from which results the trade of this village. This tribe is hostile to the Canzes and the Sioux tribe who are located on the Misisipy in the Spanish district. This tribe give considerable time to the cultivation of maize, and, therefore, they can be easily reduced to the cultivation of any other product. This is the tribe from whom we experience the best of treatment, and in whom we find the most docile disposition.

TRIBE OF THE MAJAS [MAHAS ON OLD FRENCH MAPS].

This tribe is composed of four hundred and fifty or five hundred warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is El Pajaro Negro [*i. e.*, Blackbird]. They are located some two hundred and eighty leagues from this village, at a distiance of about thirty-five or forty leagues overland from the Panis tribe, on a small tributary to the Misury, about sixty leagues from the mouth of the Plata river. Their occupation has always been, and is, that of hunting beavers, deer, buffaloes, and stags, from which results the trade of this post. This tribe is hostile to that of the Canzes, but we have never experienced any harm from them. Their occupation in the cultivation of the soil extends only to the planting of maize and pumpkins for their necessary support.

THE BIG OSAGES.

This tribe is composed of eight hundred warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Cleromon.[1] They are located one hundred and eighty leagues from this village by water, and about one hundred and ten overland, on the banks of a river emptying into the Misury of about one hundred and forty leagues in length. This tribe is hostile to the tribes of La Republica, the Hotos, the Alkanzos [*i. e.*, Arkensaws or Akensas], the Panis, the Piquies [called in old lists the Panis Piques, evidently a branch of the Pawnees], and the tribes living on the Misisipy in the English district. The injury experienced from this tribe is the theft of some horses from the inhabitants of these settlements. Their occupation has always been that of the hunt, from which great profits result to the trade of this post; for every year this tribe produces five hundred or five hundred and fifty packs of deerskins.

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[1] Clermont or Iron Bird. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. i, p. 294.

THE HAYUAS [*i. e.*, IOWAS].

This tribe is composed of two hundred and fifty warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is El Ladron [*i. e.*, The Robber]. They are located eighty leagues from this village by water by the Misisipy river on the shores of the Muen[1] river. This tribe is hostile to the tribes of the Misury River. Their occupation is that of the hunt, but no benefit to trade results therefrom, for the reason that the fur-trade is carried on continually with the traders who are tntroducing themselves into that river from the English district.

SIOUX TRIBES.

We have been unable to acquire information concerning the number of warriors of this tribe, for they are very numerous and are settled in distinct districts. The name of their principal chief is La Gran Mano [*i. e.*, Big-Hand]. They are located on the meadowlands of the Misisipy in the Spanish district, about two hundred and thirty leagues from this village. Their occupation is that of the hunt, but no profit results to this district therefrom, for the traders from the English district are gaining entrance by way of the Muen river through the district called Fuzch, one hundred and fifty leagues from the Misisipy, in order to trade with them.

Tribes which generally come from the English district to receive presents in this post.

FALCO ABUENE [*i. e.*, FOLLES AVOINES, OR MENOMINEES].

This tribe, according to our information thereof, is composed of two hundred warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Carron. They are located three hundred and ten leagues from this village, and are about eighty leagues from the Misisipy river from which they are separated by a river which rises in a lake called Superior, on which their chief residence is located. This tribe shows itself to be well inclined to this district, and we have experienced no injury from them.

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[1] Des Moines.

THE RENCOR TRIBE [*i. e.*, RENARDS OR FOXES].

This tribe is composed of three hundred or three hundred and fifty warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Nacata Uchen. They are located on the shores of the Misisipy itself, at a distance of two hundred leagues from this village. This tribe has been, and is, very well affected to this district, and it has never been experienced, so far as we have heard, that they have caused any harm to it, and we can at any time rely on them under any circumstances.

THE SAC TRIBE.

This tribe is composed of four hundred warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Kakieguemec. They are located on the banks of the Misisipy, two hundred and thirty leagues from this village. This tribe has ever shown itself well inclined to this district, and it has never been found that they have done any harm to the inhabitants in the frequent bands that have come to this village or to the hunters who generally go hunting by way of the Misisipy. On the contrary, it has been experienced that they have aided and protected them whenever it has been necessary; and they do not do that with the hunters of the English district, notwithstanding the more liberal presents generally given them from there.

TRIBE OF THE PUEANS [*i. e.*, PUANS OR WINNEBAGOES].

This tribe is composed of one hundred and fifty warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Lepy. They are located one hundred and forty leagues from this village, about two leagues from the Misisipy on a small river called La Roch[e] [*i. e.*, Rock river]. But little confidence can be placed in this tribe, for they are evilly dispositioned, a fact that has always been experienced also by the inhabitants of the other districts as well as this, because of the thefts that they usually commit on the hunters whom they meet on the Misisipy, and on other voyagers.

THE MASCOUTEN TRIBE.

This tribe is composed of two hundred warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is El Tander. They are located eighty leagues overland from this village, on a river called Aguas Bajas [*i. e.*, Shallow Waters],[8] distant from the Misisipy river by La Belle Rivière [*i. e.*, The Beautiful River or the Ohio] one hun-

[8] Probably the Wabash.

dred and twenty leagues, next to a village of the English called Post Vensen.[4] We have never heard that this tribe has done any harm to this district. On the contrary, whenever any of them generally come to this village, we experience great affection in them and great quietness.

QUICAPU [*i. e.*, KICKAPOOS].

This tribe is composed of three hundred warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Pacana.[5] They are located one-half league from the tribe of the Mascuten on the same river Aguas Bajas. The same remarks are to be made of this tribe as of the above.

THE PU TRIBE [*i. e.*, POTTAWATOMIES?].

This tribe is composed of one hundred and fifty warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Unan Guise. They are located two hundred leagues from this post on a river called San Joseph [*i. e.*, St. Joseph], which rises in a lake called Michipan, which is sixty or seventy leagues from the Misisipy. This tribe has been well affected toward the French, but they are at present somewhat in revolt and are evilly inclined, and commit many thefts in this district.

THE TRIBE OF OTABUAS [*i. e.*, OTTAWAS].

This tribe is composed of three thousand warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Pondiac [*i. e.*, Pontiac]. They are located one-quarter league from the narrow district in Canada, three hundred leagues from this village. This tribe is especially well affected toward this district; and as we have heard, are not very well satisfied with the English, for they are thinking of coming to locate in this district.

SOTU TRIBE [*i. e.*, SAUTEURS].

This tribe is composed of three thousand warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Leturno. They are located three hundred and twenty-five leagues from this village, and eighty leagues from the Misisipy on a river formed by two lakes, one called Lake Huron, and the small Lake Sencler [*i. e.*, St. Clair], which leads to the village of the straits [*i.e.*, Detroit] belonging to Canada. Since this tribe is so large and is divided among various districts, no indi-

[4] Vincennes.

[5] Pekane.

vidual notice can be given of it, except that the principal chief gives signs of great affection to this district.

TRIBE OF THE PEORIAS AND KASKASKIAS.

These two tribes compose one hundred warriors. The principal chief of these tribes is Deguen.[6] They are located in the village of Oca,[7] twenty-two leagues from this village, and one league from the Misisipy.

This tribe has been, and is, sufficiently well inclined to this district; but they are at present almost destroyed because they have been at war with all the tribes of their district.

San Luis de Ylinneses, November 15, 1777.

[6] Duquoin.

[7] Kaskaskia.

XXXI

LETTER IN REGARD TO TRADE WITH THE BIG OSAGES, DATED DECEMBER 6, 1777.

DEAR SIR:

I understand by Your Lordship's letter of August eleventh of the present year the order which has been given to Don Baltasar Villers[1] to the effect that he shall not send traders with merchandise from that post to trade with the Big Osages, in order to avoid the disorders which [men of] such inclinations could produce on this account, as has really happened according to the information that I have received from traders who are at present among the said tribe and whom I despatched from this post the first part of August, and who arrived among the said tribe on the twenty-seventh of the said month. They immediately reported to me, in writing, what they had heard from the principal chiefs that on their arrival a band which had gone out to look for the merchandise that they had promised to have at the post which they call El Quadrante [*i. e.*, the Quadrant], not having met them, determined to detach seven men to reconnoiter all that post to get them if they could find them. During that time a large band of the Panis Piquies tribe attacked them, and in that encounter, five of the seven, who had been detached, were killed. The other two returned to join their band at their village in a very angry frame of mind and furious. There they decided that another large band should leave [for] said bank of the Alcanzas in order to avenge the death of the five whom the tribe of the Panis Ziquies had killed. This being done, they met on the said bank the man named Layones with two trappers, and not only did they content themselves by robbing them of their merchandise but also killed them, the said Osages, continuing, as I have been informed, their thefts and murders along that river.

On the arrival of the batteau of Monsieur Conan[2] at this village

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[1] Have not been able to find any particulars as to this Don Baltasar de Villars. From the name infer that he may be related to Louis Du Breuil de Villars of Ste. Genevieve, a trader there. He was a native of New Orleans and lieutenant in the army. His father was also named Louis and his mother was Felicite de la Chaise. He married Marie Louise Vallé in 1771.

[2] A St. Louis merchant. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 27, also *ante* p. 89.

I received a letter from Don Baltasar de Villers, in which he tells me that two Indians of that tribe of the Alcanzas who were at the village of Santa Genoveva in the month of September informed him on returning from their voyage that the scalps which the Osages had taken along that bank, had been carried to the traders. Consequently, I could be sure that he would make all efforts to discover the persons guilty of such insolences. On that account, and because of the rumors which have been spread by several persons of the above-mentioned batteau of said Conan of the fears of the hunters of that river Alcanzas that the traders among said Osages had counseled said Osage Indians to commit such infamies: I have endeavored to have the most lively and vigorous measures take in order to discover whether there was any knowledge among said traders in this particular, and according to the verbal investigations and declarations which I have taken, I have not been able to discover any fault in them. In respect to what corresponds to the traders who ascended last year, they stayed among that tribe until June fourteen of the current year, when they left in order to descend to this village. At that time they left that tribe very tranquil, and no band left up to that time for the said Alcanzas river, except the one which accompanied the two men whom the above-mentioned Don Baltasar Villers had sent to make peace with said Osages. Regarding the traders of this year, I do not believe that there can be any guilt for they did not leaves this village until the first part of August for said tribe, and did not arrive among them until the twenty-seventh of said month, and the murder of the said two trappers of Layones occurred, as I am told, between the fifteenth and eighteenth of July. At that time, there was no trader among the said tribe; while there was not any information in this village of such extortions. For if there had been any, they would not have been supplied with goods, as was done, in order to see whether they could be restrained in this manner. Notwithstanding all the above declaration, I shall desire Your Lordship to get a report from one Ruquie,[8] who is now descending to that city, of all that has happened in this regard, among that tribe, inasmuch as he is one of the traders who stayed among that tribe until June fourteen of the current year, as I have told Your Lordship above.

According to my information, the two principal chiefs of said tribe are to descend to see me shortly. At that time I shall endeavor to make them more severe censures and threats in this particular, and that which Your Lordship orders me in your letter of June seventh threatening to deprive them of the presents and of all trade, whenever they do not restrain their tribe in the fitting tranquillity. At that time I shall also endeavor to make some investigations among said savages, in order to ascertain whether they have any understanding with the traders in regard to such extortions. I shall inform Your Lordship of the results of it so that you may be advised thereof.

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[8] Tropez Requar, a boatman, who lived at Ste. Genevieve.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years. San Luis de Ylinneses, December 6, 1777.

Your Lordship's most affectionate servant kisses your hands.

FRANCISCO CRUZAT (rubric).

Addressed: "Don Bernardo de Galvez."

XXXII

IMMIGRATION TO UPPER LOUISIANA TO BE ENCOURAGED — 1777, 1778.

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Audiencia of Santo Domingo, Luisiana, and Florida — Papers and petitions regarding them, 1782–1789 — Estante 86; Cajón 7; Legajo 24.

SYNOPSIS

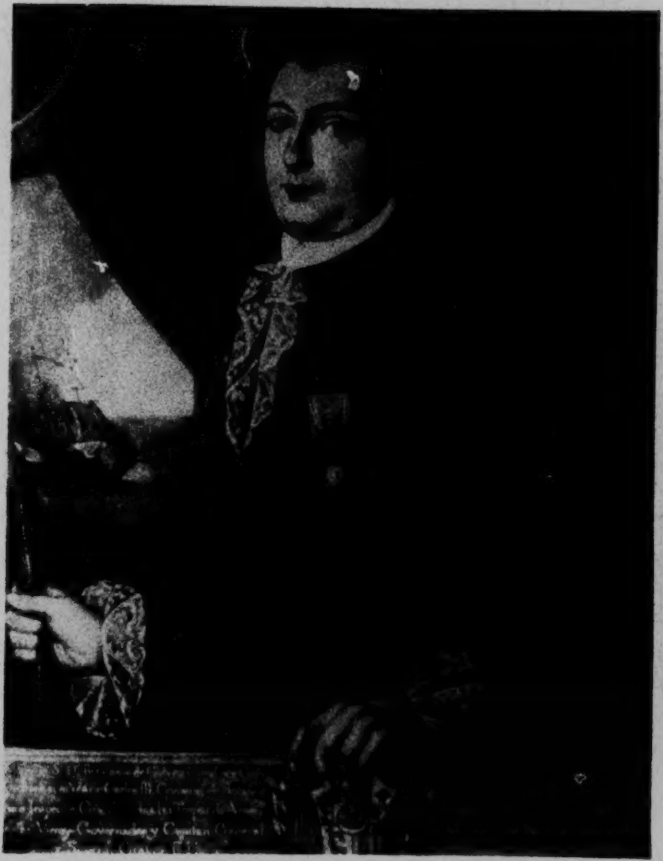
No. 122 — The governor of Louisiana sends a copy of a letter written to him by the lieutenant-governor of Ylinieses, relative to the directions given the latter for the increase of the population of the settlements committed to his charge, and to the orders given in furtherance of the same end, with the grounds therefor.

Approved: April 7, 1778.

[First Letter.]

YOUR EXCELLENCY.

Sir: Being constantly concerned with the putting into execution of the ordinances of the Sovereign, and especially of those from which I perceive that great advantages will redound to the state, I have directed the lieutenant-governor of Ylinueses to endeavor to increase the population of the settlements committed to his charge, especially with French Canadian families living among the English. I have given him orders to employ such means as prudence may dictate in order to attract them to our territories. To these directions he has answered in a letter a copy of which I transmit to Your Excellency, in order that you may see how easily this project may be carried out, on account of the war between the colonists and England. To attain the [illegible] view it will be necessary to provide the immigrants on their arrival with some assistance, and with the tools required to set them at work immediately at the cultivation of the soil, the want in which they are preventing them from making the requisite outlay for the purpose. On this account I have given orders to the said lieutenant-governor to announce that the families which may desire to come and settle in the territories of the king will enjoy his royal protection, and will receive the assistance necessary to make a



From a History of Louisiana, by Alcée Fortier.
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GÁLVEZ

beginning in establishing themselves. I have done this in the conviction that Your Excellency will approve of it, in view of chapter 19 of His Majesty's royal decree, in which forty thousand pesos are appointed expressly to the three objects for population, commerce, and the friendship of the Indian tribes. For the aforesaid transaction I trust I shall receive the separate order for expenditure which the said chapter provides that Your Excellency shall transmit to me.

This report is sent Your Excellency that it may be communicated to His Majesty, and that his royal pleasure in the matter may be known.

Our Lord grant Your Excellency the many years which I wish you.

Nueva Orleans, January 27, 1778.

I kiss Your Excellency's hands.

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

Bernardo de Galvez.

To His Excellency Sr. Don Joseph de Galvez.[1]

[Second Letter.]

My Lord: I shall do all I can to carry out the order which Your Lordship has been pleased to send me in a letter of June 6th of the current year with reference to the increase of population of this province desired by His Majesty. I will employ all the means in my power to influence those travelers to remain, and also to attract some French Canadian families, being Catholics, of the Apostolic Roman church. And whereas Your Lordship asks me in addition to inform you as to the ease or difficulty of putting this plan into operation, it is my duty to inform you that according to the statements made to me by two families who came from Canada this spring and settled in this town, and according to the accounts of several individuals from Canada, the condition of all the inhabitants of those parts of Canada is so wretched on account of the civil war from which they suffer that there will be no difficulty in attracting several families from there, provided that some small advances can be made to them of the tools and animals required for farming. These they might be required to pay for within a limited time. They are so poor that when they arrive in these settlements they come burdened with a family, but have not a shirt to wear. They would be in great straits if they were obliged to buy the farming-implements necessary for their making a living. This promise would incite them to seek their liberty; for by the information I have as to the oppressions from which they suffer in the English territories in being forced to bear arms against the *Bostoneses*[1] and in having the labor needed to support their families cut off, they are much irritated. I doubt not that if the advances to which I have referred should be made the end desired would be attained. This will be particularly likely because of the announcements with reference to the cultivation of flax and hemp, soon to be inaugurated in these settlements. This, sir, is all that I am able to communicate as to this matter.

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[1] He was an uncle of Bernardo de Galvez, and at this time prime minister of Spain and President of the council of the Indies. Afterward known as the Marquis de Sonora. Died in 1787.

God grant Your Lordship many years.

San Luis de Ylinieses, December 8, 1777.

Your most humble servant kisses Your Lordship's hands.

Francisco Cruzat (rubric).

Sr. Don Bernardo de Galvez.

[Third Letter.]

The king approves the orders reported by you in your letter of the twenty-seventh of last January to have been given the lieutenant-governor of San Luis de Ylinueses, to the effect that he should in the name of the king [invite] French Canadian families and other immigrants who might desire to settle in those possessions [and that they] should enjoy His Majesty's protection, and should receive the assistance necessary for settling.

God grant you many years.

El Pardo, April 7, 1778.

Duplicate.

Sr. Dn. Berndo de Galvez.

SYNOPSIS

No. 158 — The governor of Luisiana will provide for the settlement of French Catholics and other immigrants, Spanish, Italian, and German, who desire the same, or who are sent out from Spain. This he will do in accordance with the terms of the orders given him; and he reports having aided some families with tools and provisions, in accordance with a decree in form, a copy of which is enclosed.

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[1] The continentals were so called by the Canadians, likely because the Revolutionary War begun near Boston.

[Letter.]

YOUR EXCELLENCY.

Sir: In accordance with the royal ordinances of February 25th of the current year, and with the powers conferred upon me by His Majesty therein, I shall provide for the settlement in this province of French Catholics and other immigrants, Spanish, Italian, and German, who desire the same or who are sent out from Spain. I shall grant them land and a domicile in all cases in which they possess the requisite qualifications, taking from them the appropriate oath, and aiding them as shall be necessary from the fund set apart for the purpose. The course aforesaid has been followed with some unfortunate families who were disposed to settle in the regions of Atacapas and Opelusas, and who have been aided with tools and provisions. The allowance granted was regulated by a decree which I directed to be drawn up, and a copy of which is enclosed. I am convinced that His Majesty will be pleased to approve this decision, inasmuch as I have been impelled to make it by the opportunity of taking advantage of the presence of these new immigrants, and by clause 79 [sic] of the royal decree, which expressly states that the forty thousand pesos of augmentation of the amount assigned to this province shall be necessarily devoted to the three objects of population, trade, and friendship with the Indians.

The foregoing is reported to Your Excellency for your information and for that of His Majesty.

Our Lord grant Your Excellency many years.

Nueba Orleans, June 9, 1778.

Your Excellency's most obedient servant kisses Your Excellency's hands.

BDO DE GALVEZ.

His Excellency Dn. Jph. de Galvez.

[Decree of the governor.]

Decree as to immigration, which is to be observed by the commandants of the posts in this province to which families shall immigrate, to the end that they may be settled in accordance with the pious and humane intentions of His Majesty.

Upon the arrival of the persons whom I shall propose to settle, the commandant shall take pains to locate them in the most suitable place, as near as possible to each other, that distance may not make impossible the aid which they must render to one another.

The commandant shall assign to each family a frontage of five *arpents* [*arpanes*], with the customary depth.

For their living there shall be supplied during the first year at the charge of the royal treasury, to each family, which is to be understood to mean a husband and wife, a barrel of maize in the ear a head, for each one of the age of twelve [*en cada uno de los doze de él*] and for the children if they have any, from the age of six to that of twelve, a half barrel for each one, for those who exceed this age shall enjoy the aforesaid ration complete.

In addition to the aforesaid aid, the royal treasury will buy for each of the families referred to an axe [*haza*], a hoe, a scythe or sickle [*volante ú hoz*], a spade, two hens, a cock, and a pig of two months, with which they may easily found and establish a household which will provide them with a living, or may even make their fortune.

If there should be any among the children whose age and strength fit them for farm labor, there shall be added a hoe only for each one, since the other tools are to be provided only for a family, in which the children are included.

The kindness and gentleness with which the new colonists especially are to be treated will be shown in the same degree as the favorable intentions of the sovereign; and any commandant who shall deviate from this precept will expose himself to censure, while those who carry out these provisions with energy, and who give aid and succor to those who need them will manifest their zeal in His Majesty's service, and will obtain His Majesty's gratitude.

The source and origin of all empires has been the refuge and kind usage which men find in the gentleness of the laws. The good or evil administration of them [*apparent omission in the transcript*] is the greatest impediment to the building up of a government, for not only are those who are present and who are exposed to them exasperated, but others are prevented from coming. Hence as our laws are extremely mild they ought not to be obscured by ambition and self-interest, as has been the case with some settlements formed for the king.

In all cases in which the commandant discovers the lack of effort of a settler, and in which his sloth or abandonment should prevent him from being entitled to these benefits, the commandant, after giving warning, should inform me, that I may take measures in the case.

Since I have received no warrant from His Majesty for the said supplies, and have taken upon me to provide them, the commandants shall notify the immigrants that I am in doubt whether the assistance is provided at the expense of the royal treasury, or they will be obliged to reimburse the cost of it, when their means will permit. I have reported on this point to the king, asking for his royal decision.

The commandants shall be under obligations to send every six months an exact and detailed report of the increase or diminution of the families, with the circumstances of their progress, and the obstacles to it, in order that remedies may be promptly provided, if the case require them. In case of death or abandonment of a settler, the commandant shall take care to recover the tools which have been given.

For payment of the disbursements made for the supply of provisions and for the importation of the fowls and pigs, the commandant shall send, every three or every six months, as may be convenient, a certificate of the amount, that a corresponding order for payment may be sent by me.

Nueva Orleans, February 19, 1778.

BERNARDO DE GALVEZ.

XXXIII

THE CULTIVATION OF HEMP AND FLAX TO BE ENCOURAGED BY PROVIDING SETTLERS WITH NEGRO SLAVES, 1778.

SYNOPSIS

No. 127.— The governor of Luisiana transmits a copy of the response of the lieutenant-governor of Ylinueses to inquiries as to the propagation and cultivation of hemp and flax. The response sets forth the weakness of the population of the said region, and the method of increasing it for the purpose of encouraging the cultivation aforesaid.

Endorsed: Considered, and the king will take measure to provide negroes in such manner as may be feasible. April 6.
[Dated April 8, 1778.]

[First Letter.]
YOUR EXCELLENCY.

Sir: In fulfillment of the promise I made to Your Excellency in a letter of the second of last June, No. 55, to give an account of the measures I took to introduce into this province the propagation and cultivation of hemp and flax, in accordance with His Majesty's royal ordinance of January 12th preceding, I transmit to Your Excellency a copy of a letter which I have just received from the lieutenant-governor of the settlements of Ylinueses, in order to make manifest the good inclinations of the king's subjects there to devote themselves to these branches of agriculture.

The culture of flax seems to be likely to be difficult, on account of the nature of the soil there. At least that is what experience indicates. But as the nature of the soil there is different from that below the river, I have arranged to plant seeds of that sort there (and have personally caused it to be done) so that there may be no doubt left on this point. Yet Your Excellency will take into consideration the weakness of the population in the said settlements. The said inhabitants, in order to promote the culture of these plants with the greatest speed, would desire that the compassion of the king should deign to provide them with negro slaves on credit, for whom they may pay with the crops aforesaid. All the foregoing I transmit to Your Excellency for your information.

Our Lord grant Your Excellency many years, as I wish for you. New Orleans, January 27, 1778.

Your Excellency's most obedient servant kisses Your Excellency's hands.

BERNARDO DE GALVEZ.

His Excellency Don Joseph de Galvez.

[Second Letter.]

Your Lordship: In obedience to His Majesty's ordinance, which you did me the honor to communicate to me in your letter of June 6th of the current year, to the effect that the Indians and other races in the towns of this colony are to apply themselves to the propagation, tillage, and culture of hemp and flax, in order that these products may be exported to Spain free of all export and import duties, and in conformity with your directions in fulfillment of the said ordinance to call a public meeting in order to urge the inhabitants to devote themselves to the culture of these plants, I put your directions into effect, and found all so entirely disposed to carry out the ordinance that they all with one voice answered that they were going to make all possible efforts to acquire the seed of the hemp, which is the better crop in these regions. They declared that they would set about planting it this year, but cannot expect a large crop, because of the scarcity of the seed. Since this kind of tillage has not hitherto been practiced here it will cost them some trouble to get the seed. As to the cultivation of flax, they are not much inclined to it, as they say that this country does not produce this kind of crop so well as the other. Yet they say notwithstanding they will try to raise it, and will continue with it according to the crop they get.

In spite of the fact that these settlers are so well disposed toward the project of raising these crops, yet in view of the weakness of the population and the well-known compassion of His Majesty toward them, they would desire of him that he would make easier for them the method by which they might acquire some negro slaves in these same settlements. They might be obliged to pay for them in the said products, or at least in the products of their land, in view of the difficulty of acquiring them in any other way. In this manner they would accomplish the end which they desire, the fulfillment of His

Majesty's ordinance. The foregoing is communicated to Your Lordship that you may be acquainted with the facts, and in fulfillment of Your Lordship's orders.

God grant you many years.

San Luis de Ylinueses, November 23, 1777.

Your Lordship's most obedient servant kisses Your Lordship's hands. FRANCO CRUZAT.

Sr. Dn. Bernardo de Galvez.

An accurate copy of the original.

BERNDO DE GALVEZ.

[Third Letter.]

The king having been informed of Your Lordship's report in your letter of January 27th, and in the copy of the letter of the lieutenant-governor of Ylinueses, which you inclose, upon the difficulty of sowing and cultivating flax, on account of the nature of the soil and the weakness of the population in those settlements, His Majesty has decided to make provision for supplying them with negroes, in such manner as may be practicable.

God grant you many years.

El. Pardo, April 8, 1778.

Duplicate. Dn. Berndo de Galvez.

XXXIV

DE LEYBA ARRIVES IN ST. LOUIS, JULY, 11, 1778.

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

SAN LUIS, July 11, 1778.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL,

Dear and highly honored sir: After a ninety-three days' voyage, I reached this point with all happiness on the tenth of the past month. On the fourteenth of the same month, with the accustomed ceremonies, the command of this post was delivered to me by Captain Don Francisco Cruzat. I have been received by all the habitants with extraordinary signs of rejoicing, which I do not attribute to my beauty, nor to the fact that they were dissatisfied here with my predecessor, but only that in the creature they praise the creator. So public in this most remote district are the virtues with which Your Lordship is adorned, when this point is touched upon, that although it brings joy to all, it surprises no one. This is the true reason for their joy: they believe that, since this district is commanded by a person chosen by Your Lordship, they have whatever is necessary for their progress and happiness. In order that they may continue in this method of thinking, I have contributed not a little by the fact that I was of their own opinion, and had good intentions to represent Your Lordship as much as is advisable in this matter. Although much can be said now, all would be by hearsay. And since my intention is to make the most scrupulous examination of my reports before giving them to Your Lordship, I postpone this diligence until the batteaux descend next winter.

Don Francisco Cruzat has supplied the troops and officers of this detachment during the first six months of this year with the sum of one thousand seven hundred and fifty-two pesos. The situado[1] was delivered to me less that sum; and in those terms I specify it in the certification which I have given him.

I remain with all respect to the *obedience* of Your Lordship, and beseech God to preserve your life the years of my desire. Dear sir, your most affectionate servant kisses Your Lordship's hands.

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[1] Situado: probably here the allowance sent to the colony from New Orleans.

FERNANDO DE LEYBA[1] (rubric).

Addressed: "Don Bernardo de Galvez."

Postcript: I return by Don Francisco Cruzat, the two swivel guns which I brought in the batteau, but retain the banner. For since I must go quite often to the village of Santa Genoveva, I have no other to fly in the boat which transports me; and [the same is true of] certain visits which I shall have to make to my new citizens.

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[1] Don Fernando de Leyba, died in St. Louis June 28, 1780 and was buried in the village church. Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, pp. 41, 42.

XXXV

TROUBLE WITH THE BIG OSAGES.

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

LETTER FROM LEYBA

San Luis de Ylinneses, July 13, 1779.

Senor Governor-General,

Dear and very highly honored sir: [In regard to] the insult of the Big Osages on the hunters of the river of the Arkansas [and] the so ancient treaty as Your Lordship is not unaware, Don Pedro Piernas, in a letter of April 24, 1773, informs the predecessor of Your Lordship, that he has in the prison of this village the principal chief of a band of that nation who was convicted of having committed some thefts and murders on the Arkansas river, and he had not determined to pass sentence. As he feared lest the revengeful nature of the Indians would lead them to commit other greater excesses, Don Luis de Vnzaga[1] orders in a letter of August 14th of the same year that the criminal be set at liberty and does not approve the indecision of Don Pedro Piernas; since he says that he ought immediately to have deprived him of life (as a malefactor) by the hand of his companions. His Lordship cannot order that done now as it will be done in cold blood, etc. The resolution of Don Luis de Vnzaga is the only remedy so that that and other tribes may view us with respect. Various habitants, whom I have consulted are of the same opinion; but they also say that to despise the opinion of Don Pedro Piernas, as this post was, and is situated, is necessarily to touch the limits of temerity.

The Little Osages and the Misuris are less important [*punto*] than the Big Osages. I enclose a memorial for Your Lordship which the habitants of Santa Genoveva have sent me. I have answered them that I would inform Your Lordship of it and that in the meanwhile they could defend their property with force.

I remain with all respect to the obedience of Your Lordship, and pray that God may preserve your very important life for the years of my desire. My dear sir, your most affectionate servant kisses Your Lordship's hands.

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[1] Unzaga.

Fernando de Leyba.

Addressed: "Don Bernardo de Galvez."

[Galvez's reply.]

In the margin:

Instructed by the letter of Your Grace of the 13th of last July, and by the accompanying memorial of those inhabitants, of the harm which they are suffering on account of the theft and evil actions of the Indians, I must advise Your Grace to take for yourself the resolution to punish criminals; that is, that if their deeds are so evil as to merit death, you shall petition their heads from their respective chiefs, after informing the latter of the just reason which forces you to go to such an extreme. [You shall tell them] that if they have until that time been treated with more kindness, it has been for the purpose of seeing whether they would turn over a new leaf with good treatment [*recombencias*], but that seeing the contrary, and that their boldness increases daily, it is most necessary to put reins to them by threatening them that if the example of the punishment does not correct them in the future, their presents shall be taken away from them, and no one shall be permitted to take merchandise to them or to trade with them. If their excesses shall be of such a nature that they do not demand the death of the evildoers you shall summon the chiefs, give them presents, and tell them that since by our goodness to them, we have contented ourselves with admonishing them, believing that because of that and the kindnesses which they receive from our Monarch annually, without any profit [to us], and without them being at all necessary [to us], but only to relieve their misery and need, they will take measures to prevent those excesses, for on the contrary if they continue their rapine and raids, the presents shall be taken away from them, as well as the aid of trade, until such time as we hear of their sincere repentance, and of a true and fast friendship on their part. Your Grace shall place this in effective operation, so that they may understand our firmness and the respect with which they must treat us.

In consequence of the repeated advices which the commandant of Arkansas gives me concerning the murders and thefts which the hunters are continually experiencing who are killed on that river by the Osage Indians, I must advise Your Grace to consult secretly with some of those inhabitants as to the most suitable means for preventing such atrocities, since it is not right for such tribe of the Osages to receive so great a benefit as is that of the present which is distributed annually to them in the name of the king, and then go into another district to vent their cruelty against his vassals. I charge Your Grace with this, so that you may lose no time in an affair which merits so great consideration.

May our Lord preserve Your Grace many years. Nueva Orleans, January 13, 1779.[2]

Bernardo de Galvez (rubric).

Addressed: "Don Fernando de Leyba."

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[2] This evidently an error — should be 1780.

XXXVI

USELESSNESS OF FORT SAN CARLOS AND SUGGESTION TO ESTABLISH A FORT AT THE MOUTH OF THE DES MOINES DISAPPROVED — LETTER DATED JANUARY 13, 1779.

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

In reply to the letter of Your Grace of November 16th, last, in which, giving information of the uselessness of Fort San Carlos[1] at the entrance of the Misuri, and of the poor site that it occupies, you propose to place said fort in the district called Aguas Frias [*i. e.*, cold waters]. You also add that it would be advisable to establish another fort at the entrance of the Mua[2] river, because of the advantage which you say would result from both settlements. For their garrison and that of the other posts, you would need 200 men, who would be divided in the manner set forth by Your Grace. I must inform you that, not only have I no authority to cause extraordinary expenses on the royal treasury, since that the situado (as Your Grace is not ignorant) of this province is reduced to the mere wages of the employes and the pay of the troops of the province, but that there is also added to this difficulty that of the garrison of all this colony being at present too short to assign 200 men to those settlements. Consequently, I cannot assent to your proposition, although I can lay it before His Majesty so that he may determine what may be his royal pleasure. I charge Your Grace meanwhile to endeavor to prevent the English from entering said rivers, and to see to it that they do not entice our Indians, this being a matter that is so straitly charged in the instructions carried by Your Grace.

I received the plan which Your Grace sent me by which I shall have knowledge of those settlements. I thank you a thousand times for it.

May God preserve Your Grace many years, Nueva Orleans, January 13, 1779.

Bernardo de Galvez (rubric).

Addressed: "Don Fernando de Leyba."

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[1] This refers to the fort or block house Don Carlos Tercero el Rey, on the north side of the river.

[2] Des Moines river, on which were numerous Indian villages, where the English traders carried on a large traffic, and penetrating from the head waters of this river to the Missouri.

XXXVII

ATTACK ON ST. LOUIS — REPORT OF THE INTENDANT NAVARRO TO THE SEÑOR DON JOSEPH DE GALVEZ, DATED AUGUST 18, 1780 — DE LEYBA AND OTHERS PROMOTED.

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Documents coming from the Island of Cuba, 1780, 1781.

SYNOPSIS

The king upon information received, has deigned to confer the rank of lieutenant-colonel upon Captain Leyba, and of captain upon Lieutenant Cartabona as a reward for an action which merits his sovereign gratitude; and the king desires that from this letter a notice be prepared for the Gazette, February 5, 1781. Done February ninth of the said year.

[Letter.]

Your Excellency: While we were under the belief that the English had been falsely charged with the atrocites committed in North America upon persons of all classes in that continent by the hands of the various savage tribes who followed their banners, there was given a most amazing proof of the facts by Captain Esse[1] at the head of three hundred regular troops and nine hundred savages which left not the least doubt that this nation, having forgotten how to make war according to the system practiced in Europe, does not desire to be false in America to the title with which an author of ability has characterized it.

Captain Don Fernando de Leyba of the infantry regiment of Luisiana was commandant at the post of San Luis de Ylinoises; and having received information that a body of one thousand two hundred men, composed partly of savages and partly of troops, was being drawn up for an attack upon the town under the orders of Captain Esse, he fortified it as well as its open situation permitted. He built, at the expense of the inhabitants, a wooden tower at one of the ends of the town, overlooking it, and placed therein five cannon. In addition to these he had some cannon with which he defended the two intrenchments that he threw up at the other two extreme points. These were manned by twenty-nine veteran soldiers and two hundred and eighty-one countrymen. The enemy arrived May twenty-sixth, at one o'clock in the afternoon, and began the attack upon the post from the north side, expecting to meet no opposition; but they found themselves unexpectedly repulsed by the militia which guarded it. A vigorous fire was kept up on both sides, so that by the service done by the cannon on the tower where the aforesaid commander was, the defenders at least succeeded in keeping off a band of villains who, if they had not opportunely been met by this bold opposition on our part, would not have left a trace of our settlements. There were also to be heard the confusion and the lamentable cries of the women and children who had been shut up in the house of the commandant, defended by twenty men under the lieutenant of infantry, Don Francisco Cartabona; the dolorous echoes of which seemed to inspire in the besieged an extraordinary valor and spirit, for they urgently demanded to be permitted to make a sally. The enemy at last, seeing that their force was useless against such resistance, scattered about over the country, where they found several farmers, who, with their slaves, were occupied in the labors of the field. If these hungry wolves had contented themselves with destroying the crops, if they had killed all the cattle which they could not take with them, this act would have been looked upon as a consequence of the war, but when the learned world [*mundo filosófico*] shall know that this desperate band slaked their thirst in the blood of innocent victims, and sacrificed to their fury all whom they found, cruelly destroying them and committing the greatest atrocites upon some poor people who had not other arms than those of the good faith in which they lived, the English nation, from now on, may add to its glorious conquests in the present war that of having barbarously inflicted by the hands of the base instruments of cruelty, the most bitter torments which tyranny has invented. The number of dead, wounded, and prisoners is detailed in the report, and information is constantly looked for as to the end of the prisoners, which is believed to be as unfortunate as that of their companions, perhaps more so.

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[1] Captain Hesse.

GENERAL STATEMENT

	Whites			Slaves		
	Dead	*Wounded*	*Prisoners*	*Dead*	*Wounded*	*Prisoners*
	15	6	11	7	1	13
Misisipi			46			
	15	6	57	7	1	13

This information is sent Your Excellency for your guidance. I shall take care to report to Your Excellency any news henceforth, not only of this post but also of all others in the colony.

Our Lord preserve the valuable life of Your Excellency. Nueva Orleans, August 18, 1780.

Your Excellency, your most obedient servant kisses Your Excellency's hand. MARTIN NAVARRO.[1]

His Excellency Señor Don Joseph de Galvez.

[Second letter.]

The King has been greatly pleased at the vigorous defense made by Captain Don Fernando de Leyba and Lieutenant Don Francisco Cartabona in repulsing the English Captain Esse, who intended to surprise them and dislodge them from the post of San Luis de Ylinoeses; and in proof of his sovereign gratitude he has decided to confer upon the first the rank of lieutenant-colonel and on the second that of captain, commissions for whom I enclose to Your Lordship that you may arrange to communicate them to the interested parties. His Majesty was unable to look with less grief upon the unhappy lot which those innocents suffered who had the misfortune to be victims of the ferocity of an officer so deeply dyed with inhumanity. I enclose to Your Lordship for comparison herewith a letter of the Intendant, Don Martin Navarro, dated August 18th last.

God protect Your Lordship many years.

El Pardo, February 3, 1781.

JOSEPH DE GALVEZ.

His Lordship the governor of Luisiana.

SYNOPSIS

The Governor of Luisiana reports the receipt of royal commissions, one of lieutenant-colonel for the captain of the regular regiment here, Don Fernando Leyba, and the other of captain for the lieutenant of the same, Don Francisco Cartabona. He states that the first of these officers is dead and that he will transmit the aforesaid royal commission to the second.

[Third Letter.]

Your Excellency: From Your Excellency's office I received February 9th, the royal commissions of lieutenant-colonel for the captain of this regiment, Captain Fernando de Leyba, and of captain for the lieutenant of the same, Don Francisco Cartabona, with which His Majesty has deigned to reward the zeal which both exhibited at the post of Ylinoeses by their vigorous repulse of the English Captain Esse, as Your Excellency was informed by the intendant of this province, Don Martin Navarro, under date of August 18th of last year.

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[1] This report is probably based on report of the attack on St. Louis sent to Gov. Galvez by de Leyba.

The first of these officers died some time ago; but I will take care that the royal commission shall be forwarded as soon as possible to the second, who still remains at that post, and that he shall be recognized as of the rank of captain according to the will of our sovereign.

God protect Your Excellency many years.

Nueva Orleans, July 19, 1781.

Your most obedient servant kisses Your Excellency's hand.

BERNARDO DE GALVEZ.

His Excellency Don Joseph de Galvez.

COMMISSION.

Don Carlos, by the grace of God, King of Castile, Leon, Aragon, etc. [the king's title follows].

Whereas, in consideration of the meritorious services of you, Don Fernando de Leyba, captain of the regular infantry regiment of Luysiana, and in particular on account of your defence of San Luis de Ylinoeses, in which you prevented the English captain Esse with three hundred regular troops and nine hundred savages from winning the same and repulsed him vigorously, I have decided to confer upon you the rank of lieutenant-colonel of infantry in my royal armies;

Therefore, I command all captains general etc. [formal words of commission follow].

Notice for the Gazette of Madrid, November 16, 1781. [A report very little modified from the narrative of Navarro is drawn up for the Gazette. In one or two places the expression is slightly improved, and the following words are added: "The lot of whom [the prisoners] is not likely to be less unhappy than that of their companions, inasmuch as it is to be decided by men who have determined to divest themselves of all the sentiments of humanity and honor, in spite of the example of generosity and disinterestedness given them by their enemy".]

XXXVIII

CRUZAT REAPPOINTED — HIS INSTRUCTIONS — LETTER TO CARTABONA — COMMENDATION OF VASQUEZ, ETC.

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

[Cruzat's appointment.]

Having learned of the death of Don Fernando de Leyba, commandant of those settlements, I have appointed the lieutenant-colonel by brevet, Don Francisco Cruzat, to take charge of the command. By virtue of that, as soon as he presents himself with that order, Your Grace shall give him possession of that post, and he shall be recognized as such by those troops and habitants. Under form of inventory all the effects, artillery, and supplies belonging to His Majesty shall be delivered to him. Nueva Orleans, July 25, 1780.

Addressed: "Don Francisco Cartabona."[1]

[Instructions to Cruzat.]

Instructions to be strictly observed by the lieutenant-governor of Ylinneses, Don Francisco Cruzat, lieutenant-colonel by brevet and captain of the regular regiment of infantry of Luisiana.

The great distance from this capital to Los Ylinneses demands greater prudence in the charge of its command. There are three principal objects to be watched out for, in the performance of which you will have especial vigilance. These are: to cause the dominion and government of His Majesty to be loved and respected; to administer justice promptly, impartially, and in accordance with law; and to protect and increase trade as much as possible. For the attainment of so important ends, he who commands must cause to be well known by his words and deeds how much the King desires the happiness of his vassals; the express orders that he has to distinguish and consider good persons in everything licit; and to prosecute those who disturb the public tranquillity, or ruin their creditors, by their bad faith and faithless conduct.

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[1] Don Silvio Francisco de Cartabona de Oro was a lieutenant in the Spanish service — commandant at Ste. Genevieve until 1787, when his name disappears in upper Louisiana.

He shall place his whole attention to the conservation of said post, applying all the means possible for its defense, in order to strain and repel the raids and designs of the enemy, both of the British nation and of the others of Indians, who shall attempt to destroy the settlements of his jurisdiction.

Half of the war supplies which he carries shall be used for the defense of the posts, while the other half shall be reserved as presents for the Indians, as necessity may demand, and to regale them when they shall chance to go to the village of Santa Genoveva. He shall deliver from said presents to the special lieutenant, Don Francisco Vallé, two hundred pounds of powder with the corresponding balls.

In a word, bearing, as he ought to bear, in mind the instructions given by His Excellency, Count de O'Reilly, in so far as he has no orders to the contrary, he shall conform to them throughout and the regulations approved before that.

He shall endeavor to conserve the greatest harmony with the reverend parish priest of the post and his example shall serve as the norm and rule for the others to whom also he shall show the mildness of our government, causing it to be recognized in the equitable manner of dividing the presents among the tribes, and attracting to our devotion those tribes of the English district, making use, for that purpose, of whatever ways and means conduce to its attainment.

The contract entered into by his predecessor, Don Fernando de Leyba, by which he respects the ration for the militia, while they are employed in the service and defense of those posts, shall remain in force and vigor unless the good of the service demands something else.

He shall maintain the most perfect relationship with the colonel and other American commandants in so far as this shall not wrong the rights, exemptions, and privileges of His Catholic Majesty.

Since it is impossible to prevent the accidents which may occur both during his voyage and in the command of the post, in the present circumstances we trust to his zeal, activity, and love to the royal service that, in so far as he shall not be prevented, he make use of all means which his prudence and military experience dictate to him for the greater welfare of the service.

Given in Nueva Orleans, July 25, 1780.

[Letter to Cartabona.]

I was almost beginning to persuade myself that the ruin and calamities of the war either would not be felt at all or would be at least transitory in the province, when I received the grievous and painful news of the fatal disaster that happened in that village, May 26th, last.

One cannot imagine the grief and impression which such a catastrophe has caused in my heart. The zeal and activity, with which those poor habitants, prefering the service of their fatherland to any other individual matter, sacrificed their lives and possessions with the noble disinterestedness which they have shown, alone serve me as a great consolation and satisfaction.

I shall inform the government of this example worthy of a noble emulation in all the colony. Your Grace shall also tell of this in my name to the special lieutenant of Santa Genoveva, Don Francisco Vallé, Monsieur Picote de Veletre, Don Benito Vasquez, and other habitants, in general and in particular. You shall thank them abundantly in the name of the sovereign for the valor and noble intrepidity with which they have been able to restrain the impetuous pride of the enemy in the midst of the greatest want.

The long distance and my present occupations at Pazancola[1] [*sic*] which were fatally retarded, prevent me from busying myself entirely, as I would like, in reënforcing that country, notwithstanding that, although ready to act where the royal service demands it, I have determined to temporarily send the lieutenant-colonel, by brevet, Don Francisco Cruzat, with ammunition and some presents for the Indians, leaving the commandant-general, Don Pedro Piernas, and the intendant, Don Martin Navarro, charged to supply whatever aid and reënforcement they can furnish for this purpose.

Your Grace will already know for yourself that the few troops, that we have here, are absolutely necessary, so long as the enemy stays at our gates. If divine providence grant me, as I hope, power to drive them away from these districts, then, in greater measure I shall be able to second the love, zeal, and activity of those habitants, who merit a special esteem from me.

The proofs of love, fidelity, and zeal, which all Your Graces have made visible in favor of the royal service induce me to continue to grant, from this time in the same manner, and as liberally as possible, the reënforcements which are needed without exposing everything to ruin.

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[1] Pensacola.

May God preserve Your Grace many years. Nueva Orleans, July 25, 1780.

Bernardo de Galvez (rubric).

Addressed: "Don Silvio Francisco de Cartabona."

[Commendation to Vasquez.]

I cannot do less than manifest to Your Grace how well satisfied I am with the zeal and the love to the royal service which you showed in the defense of that post, on the 26th of May last. I give Your Grace a thousand thanks for it, and assure you that I shall not fail to recommend this particular merit to the King. May God, etc., July 25, '80.

Addressed: "Don Benito Vasquez."

XXXIX

LETTERS OF CRUZAT TO GALVEZ, DATED DECEMBER, 1780, RELATING TO ENGLISH INTRIGUES, ETC.

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers proceeding from the Island of Cuba.

Dear Sir: Such are the movements which the English show in this barbarous and inhuman war, in order that they might succeed in their attempts, that even in the Misury they had introduced two of their banners, which I have had surrendered to me by telling the tribes, who had received them, that in order to be our allies they ought not to have in their villages other ensigns than the Spanish. I send them to Your Lordship by Don Agustin Choteau, together with two others and thirteen medals which the Sac tribe had surrendered to him, as I have informed Your Lordship under date of September twenty-ninth, and also another banner and medal which a chief of the Pu[1] tribe just surrendered to me.

All these chiefs, who have surrendered these medals, desire that they be replaced by Spanish medals, but I have not been able to do that because enough of them were not brought up for all of them. Consequently, I shall desire that, if there is an opportunity, some of them be sent me, so that I may content said chiefs, as well as some copies of the printed permits, since, of those which I brought up with me, only two remain, and those who have received them have been caused great joy. With these we can succeed in contenting them.

May God preserve Your Lordship for many years. San Luis de Ylinneses, December 2, 1780. Your most humble servant kisses Your Lordship's hands.

Francisco Cruzat (rubric).

Addressed: "Bernardo de Galvez."

Dear Sir: Each day the news that I have communicated to Your Lordship regarding the continual transporting by the English of all kinds of effects and ammunition, to the bay and to many other points in order that they might come next spring to attack us earlier than they did last spring in order to achieve this end, are being confirmed more and more in these settlements. One cannot imagine the expenses which the English are incurring and the exorbitant amounts of merchandise which are continually consumed among the Indian tribes, in order to attract them to their side, inducing them, by deceitful and threatening words, to turn against us. There is a rumor that the commandant of Micheli Mekinak[1] is about to come himself at the head of said Indian tribes and other white people in order to direct the action better than that which they performed here in the month of May last. I have news also that the great chief of the Sios[2] tribe, one of the most important tribes of these districts, and established on the upper part of the Misisipy, is returning to his tribe from Michely Makinak, where he had gone, with a great quantity of merchandise of all sorts, not only to arouse his tribe but also those who are near him. Since this chief called, La Oja [*i. e.*, The Leaf], exercises a limitless domination over the spirit of his tribe and that of the surrounding tribes, it is believed that he will obtain from all of them whatever he proposes to them.

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[1] Pottawatomies.

Nevertheless, in order to destroy his intentions, I have determined to take some measures, of which I shall inform Your Lordship after they have been executed.

I have just learned that a band of the Aioas, [*i. e.*, Iowas] doubtless excited by the enemy, has corrupted the Hotos [*i. e.*, Otœs] tribe which is located on the upper Misury and has promised them to join the other tribes opposed to us in order to show as great hostility as possible toward us. I do not doubt the truth of this, for I know the Indians, and I know by experience that the appearance of gain does not excite them to take action, but the reality of the presents does. Since the English make so many of these to all the tribes of whom they wish to make use, they always obtain from them whatever they desire, unless, by the same methods, we destroy their hopes by deceiving the barbarians as they are doing, and, as I have already said, with exorbitant gifts. Of these news, although they deserve some confirmation, and of others, which I am receiving daily, and which are current in these countries, but which I omit, as they are related to one another, Your Lordship can infer the situation of these settlements and that of the tribes allied to us. I am contriving to satisfy them more by astuteness than by presents, for, although I work by means of presents as much as is possible to me, they never reach the hundredth part of those which our enemies are distributing among them as is well known and as Your Lordship can inform yourself — a reason which makes it possible for them to find as many Indian auxiliaries as they wish. Consequently, it is necessary for me to petition Your Lordship to deign to quickly despatch Messrs. Choteau and Serré in order that I may be able to know the news and provisions of Your Lordship which the citizens of all these settlements desire so ardently, and which I consider very favorable for obtaining the ends which I desire.

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[1] Machilli mackinac.

[2] Sioux.

May God preserve Your Lordship for many years. San Luis de Ylinneses, December 19, 1780. Your most humble servant kisses Your Lordship's hands.

Francisco Cruzat (rubric).

Addressed: "Don Bernardo de Galvez."

Dear sir: On my arrival at this village, Lieutenant Don Francisco de Cartabona informed me that it had been necessary for him to embargo [*bastengar*] a batteau which was found in the village of Ka,[1] belonging to the merchant Monsieur Serré, who had also been commissioned for this same purpose by reason of the true news that he had received of the coming of one named Langlade, an English trader and our enemy. As the above-cited merchant petitions by the enclosed memorial, which I am sending to Your Lordship, that his batteau be surrendered to him in the condition in which the king seized it, or that he be paid its value by the general treasury of that city, whose claims I have refused to comply with, as I consider that if his batteau be returned to him it would, perhaps, be necessary, as I conjecture, to have another made this spring, in order to place it on sentinel duty at some leagues from this village in the Misisipy, and that, besides being a new cost to the royal treasury, it could not be, perhaps, prepared soon enough, and put in the condition that is required; for that reason I leave the decision of the determination of this matter to Your Lordship.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years. San Luis de Ylinneses, December 19, 1780. Your most humble servant kisses Your Lordship's hands.

Francisco Cruzat (rubric).

Addressed: "Don Bernardo de Galvez."

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[1] Kaskaskia.

Dear sir: I have just had news that an American habitant who is in Oca[3] has received a letter from New England, in which they tell him that the American colonies had made peace with the English and had made a close alliance for defense and offense, and that Colonel Clark was about to come to these settlements with six hundred men for no licit purposes, according to what is declared in the said American district.

If these news are really a fact, as I fear they must be, it would likely be that the Americans declared as our enemies would attempt, as is easy for them, to descend La Vella Rivière [*i. e.*, the Ohio] to protect themselves in order to get food from these settlements, and then with the food provided in them they would continue their voyage by the Misisipy, taking until arriving at the ports of Nueva Orleans, all the forts and settlements which we have on both banks of the above-named river.

It is morally certain that, if the Americans should separate from our alliance they will work against us and that then, united with the English of Canada, they can form an expedition in these districts for the conquest of Ylinneses and all the rest of the colony, and I believe that if the colony were once in possession of the English and Americans it would cost a great deal, because of its location, to take it by force of arms.

In whatever manner that I should be attacked be the number and quality of my enemy great or small, Indians, English, or Americans, Your Lordship may rest secure that I shall defend the country with all the few forces which I have to the last extremity and that, so long as I live, I shall take the most efficacious means to conserve it.

These are the public news which are current in these settlements and of which I inform Your Lordship for your knowledge, and so that you may supply the remedy.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years. San Luis de Ylinneses, December 22, 1780. Your most humble servant kisses Your Lordship's hands.

Francisco Cruzat (rubric).

Addressed: "Don Bernardo de Galvez."

Dear sir: With a letter of the eighth of this current month the special lieutenant of Santa Genoveva, Don Francisco Vallé, sent me a copy of a letter which I herewith enclose for Your Lordship which was written by the American Colonel Roger. He asks in it, as Your Lordship will see, for the surrender of the American deserters whom he thought had taken refuge at Santa Genoveva, and if I did not wish to do that, to return the uniforms worn by those deserters. Don Francisco Vallé replied to the one who delivered the letter to him that he was ready, in order to preserve good relations to have the uniforms returned, but that the deserters he could not surrender and had not authority to surrender without an express order from me. Since I cannot nor ought to give such order without the order of Your Lordship, I have replied to Colonel Roger, telling him that my powers are not sufficient for me to decide this matter for myself but that I would inform Your Lordship thereof, so that you might take the measures which you found most advisable and to which I alone ought to conform. For that reason, I trust that Your Lordship will tell me what I ought to do in such a case.

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[3] Kaskaskia.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years. San Luis de Ylinneses, December 22, 1780. Your most humble servant kisses your Lordship's hands.

Francisco Cruzat (rubric).

Addressed: "Don Bernardo de Galvez."

Dear sir: Although I am surrounded by a thousand occupations, which treat of the inner details of the government which demand all my attention, I cannot, for that reason, cease to keep my eye open in regard to the movements and penetration of the ideas of my neighbors, the Americans. And since I have observed in them coolness and untimely inaction which show that their ideas are not very just and, on the contrary, somewhat suspicious, as can be seen by the actions of the collars which they have kept without our knowing for what ends, as I have notified Your Lordship, I have taken in hand the most efficacious means for penetrating and discovering the motives of the indifference with which they dissemble and work in the cause which interests them in this country as much as us. After having spied to the best of my ability, I have learned that one Venteley [*i. e.*, Bentley], a merchant of Oca, an Englishman by nation, who has always been under suspicion, and in whose house lives the American agent, Doctge,[8] as Monsieur Serré will be able to inform Your Lordship (I have commissioned the latter, as he has experience, in order that, passing through the village of Oca, he might endeavor to acquire some information in regard to this matter) is the person who moves the said agent and the commandant, Roger, and makes them do whatever he wishes, although, it might perhaps be that not all the Americans have the ideas of these men. The fact that they have almost abandoned Ylinneses, since there only remains in Oca a very small detachment of Americans; the fact that Colonel Clark did not come to succor the country as he has promised; and the little attention which they pay to the defense of it: all give me a motive for many conjectures and reflections, and more so, knowing the inconstancy of the English who, in this case, are the same as the Americans.

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[8] John Dodge.

I must inform Your Lordship that this conduct of the Americans with the settlements of their district, which they have abandoned without relief or hope of having it, after having impoverished it, keeps them all in a general conflict so that they do not know what to do, what side to take, or how to defend themselves without powder, balls, or any other thing that is most indispensable. On that account there is a rumor, although it is not confirmed, that said habitants are or were projecting sending a courier to the Strait [*i. e.*, Detroit], declaring themselves to be English vassals and begging protection from the Sovereign of the English — a piece of news and reasons which make me think and keep me always moderately distrustful, without ever either one or the other, being able to penetrate it, since I consider and it is evident that, if the English come to take possession of the other part of the river they would not limit their conquests to that part, nor would they cease to trouble us by passing farther and taking possession of the batteaux which went up from that city [*i. e.*, Nueva Orleans], a thing which they could do by the fact of having taken the country with the Indians, their allies. On that account, I have resolved, if Your Lordship deigns to send me a post overland from Los Arcos, with news of the coming of the convoy, to send a pirogue to meet it in order to inform it of anything new which might have happened in this country and be enabled to avoid, by such useful knowledge, the fatal destruction of the batteaux. By so sad an event would come the height of the calamity and misery in which all Ylinneses is at present, as well as the unhappy habitants of Post Vincene,[1] whom the Americans, after having ruined them refused to protect and defend, without other reasons than those which one desires to assert without any foundation. I report all

[1] Vincennes.

this to Your Lordship, in order that you may be informed of it and take the necessary action.

May God preserve Your Lordship for many years. San Luis de Ylinneses, September 22, 1780. Your most humble servant kisses Your Excellency's hands.

FRANCISCO CRUZAT (rubric).

Addressed: "Don Bernardo de Galvez."

XL

ROSTER OF ST. LOUIS MILITIA COMPANIES IN 1780

General Archives of the Indies — Documents from the Island of Cuba

Your Lordship:

In view of your approval, in a letter of January 13 of last year, of the formation of a second company of militia at the town of San Luis, as was suggested to Your Lordship by my predecessor, Don Fernando de Leiva, and in consideration of the fact that such an arrangement seemed to me necessary because the number of militia-men is too great for a single company, I have divided the company which existed here into two. The division had already been made with foresight, by Lieutenant Don Francisco Cartabona. I have incorporated into the second company the officers and men of the company of cavalry, partly because the latter is not provided with horses, and partly because when it is necessary for an expedition of mounted men to be made, the cavalry company provide themselves with the horses of the habitants of this town, for the greater part of the cavalry company have no horses and have not the means to keep them at a daily expense in their stables. Hence I believe Your Lordship will deign to approve this decision, and will send the appropriate commissions of the officers of the second company, as officers of infantry, since although the cavalry company was approved by Your Lordship's letter dated August 6, 1779, the officers of the said company have not received their respective commissions.

In order to raise the detail of militia of this town and to teach them to do their military service in the manner following the regular order as closely as possible considering the character of the population here and the fact that they are not in the least instructed in military matters, it is necessary to have an adjutant [*ayudante mayor*] to direct them and instruct them in the most essential parts of the royal military service. I nominate to Your Lordship as adjutant of the aforesaid forces the lieutenant of the first company, Don Benito Vasquez, a man who, in addition to possessing the qualities belonging to the position, has exhibited his courage, honor, zeal, activity, and intelligence in the royal service, as I believe Your Lordship is informed. He has been in active service, and is a Spaniard. He has exercised since the time of my predecessor, Don Fernando de Leiva, the functions of acting adjutant, and has given in this, as in other positions in which I have kept him continually employed, proof of his capacity, loyalty, and devotion to the royal service. Hence I trust that Your Lordship will approve the choice, and that the special and distinguished merit of Lieutenant Don Benito Vasquez will receive its reward [*tendra prest*] in Your Lordship's kind and generous heart.

In the lists which I enclose to Your Lordship,I have put in place of Don Benito Vasquez Don Agustin Choto,[1] since in him are found the qualities of honor, activity, and zeal necessary for the position. I trust Your Lordship will approve the appointment. For Your Lordship's information in returning the commissions for the militia officers of this town who have none, I enclose a report of the individuals who lack them, in case of my suggestions and ideas receiving Your Lordship's approval.

God keep Your Lordship many years. S^{n}. Luis de Ilinueses, December 27, 1780.

Your Lordship's most obedient servant kisses Your Lordship's hands.

FRAN.^{co} CRUZAT (rubric).

Senor Don Bernardo de Galvez.

List of the militia officers at the town of San Luis de Ilinueses who are without their respective commissions: — [for Your Lordship's information] if Your Lordship pleases to send the commissions and approves the formation of the second company.

FIRST COMPANY.

Don Agustin Chouteau	as Lieutenant.
Don Pedro Montardy[2]	as Sub-Lieutenant.

SECOND COMPANY.

Don Eugenio Peuré [Pourée]	as Captain.
Don Luis Chancelier	as Lieutenant.
Don Carlos Tayon	as Sub-Lieutenant.
Don Benito Vasquez	as Adjutant.

San Luis de Ilinueses, December 22, 1780.

FRAN.^{co} CRUZAT (rubric).

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[1] Auguste Chouteau. Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 4.

[2] Pierre or Pedro Montardy came from Fort de Chartres to St. Louis. He was a son of Pierre Montardy, a native of Montauban, France. In 1765 he married Marie Theresa Duchemin at St. Anne de Chartres. He was a merchant and the lot he owned in St. Louis was subsequently acquired by Auguste Chouteau. There is no record as to where and when he died.

Roster of the officers, sergeants, corporals, and enlisted men of the first company, under the command of Captain Don Juan Bap^{ta} Martinez, with a statement of their age, place of birth, and occupation.

Rank	Names	Age	Birthplace	Occupation
	The said Captain			
Lieutenant,	Don Agustin Chouteau			
Sub-Lieutenant,	Don Pedro Montardy			
1st Sergeant,	Nicolas Roy [3]	48	France	Trader [i. e., with Indians]
2d Sergeant,	Pedro Quienel [4]	20	Canada	Trader
2d Sergeant,	Luis Honore [5]	25	Ilinueses	Tailor
1st Corporal,	Joseph Labuciera [6] [Labusciere]	24	Ilinueses	Habitant
1st Corporal,	Pedro Goñon[7]	36	Canada	Habitant
1st Corporal,	Pedro Elias[8]	36	France	Rower
1st Corporal,	Juan Pedro Porsley[9]	36	France	Habitant
2d Corporal,	Alex[andr]o Cote	42	Canada	Habitant
2d Corporal,	Bap[tis]ta Bibaren [10]	30	Ilinueses	Mason
2d Corporal,	Tomas Ubaldy [11]	38	Italian	Currier
2d Corporal,	Andres Feneti	34	Nueva Orl^{s}.	Rower
Enlisted Men:				
	Nicolas Leconte [12]	40	Canada	Carpenter
	Guillermo Leconte [13]	36	Canada	Rower
	Fran[cis]co Delorier [Deslauriers ?]	40	Canada	Blacksmith
	Esteban Sumande [14]	40	Canada	Rower
	Joseph Sumande [15]	25	Canada	Rower
	Joseph Sanselie [16]	30	Ilinueses	Habitant
	Antonio Gotie [17]	26	Canada	Rower
	Juan Bap[tis]ta Laflanbuesa	23	Canada	Rower
	Fran[cis]co Vigo [18]	35	Italian	Merchant
	Ant[oni]o Galve, Sr.[19]	50	Canada	Habitant
	Ant[oni]o Galve, Jr.[20]	17	Ilinueses	Rower
	Luis Potie [Potier ?] [21]	50	Ilinueses	Habitant
	Felizberto Gañon [22]	50	France	Habitant
	Gabriel Serre [23]	45	Canada	Merchant
	Lorenzo Derrogé [24]	34	Canada	Storekeeper
	Joseph Cale [25]	36	Canada	Rower
	Antonio Lahe [26]	28	Canada	Rower
	Juan Bap[tist]a Hortez [27]	40	France	Carpenter
	Joseph Teneroso	35	Canada	Rower
	Lorenzo Basedonio	40	France	Rower
	Juan Luis Lacroia [28]	27	N^{s}. Orleans	Storekeeper
	Juan Bap[tist]a Sabua	40	Canada	Habitant
	Juan Maria Papin [29]	40	Canada	Mason
	Fran[cis]co Verio	35	Canada	Mason

Names	Age	Birthplace	Occupation
Luis Laflor [30]	35	Canada	Mason
Ignacio Brigpohe	42	Canada	Trader
Rene de Pre [31]	34	Canada	Cooper
Pablo Laderruta [32]	26	Ilinueses	Rower
Antonio Ladusor	38	Canada	Habitant
Luis Lasudray [33]	38	Ilinueses	Rower
J[ose]ph Marchoteau [34]	25	Ilinueses	Carpenter
Noel Brunet [35]	34	Canada	Habitant
Luis Chavalie [36]	32	Canada	Habitant
Joseph Duchene	40	Canada	Habitant
Antonio Sansy [37]	40	Canada	Mason
Nicolas Chorret [38]	46	Canada	Rower
Pedro Debó [39]	26	Cadada	Rower
Pedro Pepen [40]	26	Canada	Rower
Juan Bap[tist]a Lamarina [41]	25	Canada	Rower
Juan Porte	30	Canada	Rower
Todos Santos Paran [42]	30	Canada	Rower
Pedro Lerrú [43]	25	Canada	Rower
Fran[cis]co Borrosie [44]	33	Canada	Habitant
Luis Beno [45]	40	Canada	Rower
Juan Lepir [46]	50	Canada	Rower
Nicolas Guion	40	Canada	Blacksmith
Luis Liret [47]	38	Canada	Rower
Carlos Balle [48]	50	Canada	Hunter
Pedro Vizonete [49]	38	Canada	Habitant
J[ose]ph Beno [50]	45	Canada	Hunter
Andres Vequet [51]	18	Ilinueses	Rower
Andres Vizonete [52]	38	Canada	Rower
Juan Bap[tist]a Probanche [53]	43	Canada	Habitant
Anrry Orra [54]	45	American	Habitant
Joseph Marichar [55]	26	Ilinueses	Rower
Antonio Marichar	36	Ilinueses	Habitant
Fran[cis]co Chole	28	Canada	Rower
Jacobo Marichar [56]	40	Ilinueses	Habitant
Lorenzo Michon [57]	40	Canada	Hunter
Joseph Ribet [58]	36	Canada	Habitant
Amable Demarre [59]	35	Canada	Rower
Pedro Cudorche	44	France	Merchant
Joseph Par	40	Canada	Rower
Silvestre Labadia [60]	43	France	Trader
Bernardo Dubal [61]	38	Canada	Rower
Joseph Papen [62]	36	Canada	Merchant
Carlos Simono [63]	40	Canada	Habitant
Fran[cis]co Vizonete [64]	50	Canada	Habitant
J[ose]ph Basor	26	Ilinueses	Rower
Basilio Basor	23	Ilinueses	Rower
Luis Vior	40	Canada	Hunter

Names	Age	Birthplace	Occupation
Bap[tist]a Vizonete	34	Canada	Rower
Pedro Choteau [65]	22	Nª. Orleans	Merchant
Juan Bap[tist]a Cambas [66]	44	France	Carpenter
Joseph Caze	20	Ilinueses	Rower
J[ose]ph Tayon [67]	28	Ilinueses	Farm laborer
Luis Chil	25	France	Rower
Juan Pablo Tembal	43	France	Merchant
Luis Rover	38	Ilinueses	Habitant
Fran[cis]co Cornó [68]	43	Canada	Rower
Bap[tis]ta Cantara	38	Canada	Hunter
Pedro Bernie	30	Canada	Rower
Pedro Sorret	35	Canada	Carpenter
Joseph Labrose [69]	43	Canada	Habitant
Joseph Verdon [70]	46	Canada	Carpenter
Luis Dubroy [71]	38	Canada	Habitant
Pedro Durbois [72]	28	Canada	Rower
Luis Fallar	30	Canada	Rower
Alex[andr]o Ballé [73]	33	Canada	Hunter
Juan Probó [74]	36	Canada	Hunter
Alex[andr]o Michon	38	Canada	Hunter
Luis Mercie [75]	44	Canada	Rower
Antonio Huder	34	Canada	Rower
Luis Chatelero [76]	40	Canada	Trader
Salomon Paty [77]	26	American	Hunter
Pablo Guitar [78]	45	Canada	Habitant

Summary:

Sergeants	3
Corporals	8
Enlisted Men	96
Total	107

San Luis de Ilinueses, December 20, 1780.

FRANco CRUZAT (rubric).

Roster of the officers, sergeants, corporals, and enlisted men of the second company, under the command of Captain Don Eugenio Pure, with a statement of their age, place of birth, and occupation.

Rank	Names	Age	Birthplace	Occupation
	The said Captain			
Lieutenant	Don Luis Sanselier			
Sub-Lieutenant	Don Carlos Tayon			
1st Sergeant	Joseph Polo	34	France	Trader
2d Sergeant	Juan Bap[tist]a Lapierre [79]	36	Canada	Blacksmith
2d Sergeant	Luis Otonere, Sr.	50	Canada	Tailor
1st Corporal	Jacobo Labe [80]	40	Ilinueses	Habitant
1st Corporal	Carlos Hot [81]	35	Canada	Hunter

Rank	Names	Age	Birthplace	Occupation
1st Corporal,	Ant[oni]o Belpecher [82]	40	Ilinueses	Habitant
1st Corporal,	Carlos Roy	26	Ilinueses	Habitant
2d Corporal,	Pedro Bofrer [83]	35	Canada	Tailor
2d Corporal,	Andres Dupuy	26	Canada	Tailor
2d Corporal,	Fran[cis]co Honore [84]	17	Ilinueses	Tailor
2d Corporal,	Ant[oni]o Venzan [85]	28	France	Trader
Enlisted Men:				
	Nicolas Daniel [86]	38	Canada	Hunter
	Pedro Plancha	43	France	Caulker
	Joseph Tibó [Tibeau ?] [87]	38	Canada	Rower
	Pedro Peltie[r ?] [88]	33	Canada	Habitant
	Miguel Lamy [89]	50	Canada	Habitant
	Enrique Duchoquete [90]	20	Ilinueses	Habitant
	Joseph Peron	30	France	Rower
	Alex[andr]o Luese [91]	30	Ilinueses	Habitant
	Fran[cis]co Duchoquete	17	Ilinueses	Habitant
	Bap[tist]a Moro [Moreau ?]	26	Canada	Rower
	Juan Boduen [92]	18	Ilinueses	Rower
	Jacobo Lasablonera [93]	38	Canada	Habitant
	Carlos Chanrrion [94]	43	Ilinueses	Rower
	Pedro Roy	45	Canada	Blacksmith
	Todos Santos Lorrose [95]	18	Ilinueses	Rower
	Nicolas Bogeneau [96]	38	Ilinueses	Habitant
	Jacobo Tabo [97]	36	Canada	Habitant
	Simon Cuzot [98]	30	N^{a}. Orleans	Habitant
	Joseph Lapierre	25	Canada	Habitant
	Antonio Lusere [99]	44	Canada	Carpenter
	Luis Crepo [100]	27	Canada	Habitant
	Juan Gilver [101]	48	France	Potter
	Joseph Jirar [102]	33	Canada	Rower
	Joseph Chartran [103]	38	Canada	Habitant
	Joseph Rubidu [104]	36	Canada	Shoemaker
	Fran[cis]co Porten	25	Ilinueses	Rower
	Pedro Belhumor	30	Canada	Rower
	Fran[cis]co Greñe [105]	50	Canada	Rower
	Pedro Jonca [106]	36	Canada	Rower
	Nicolas Lacomble [107]	42	Canada	Cooper
	Gregorio Guiersero [108]	28	Ilinueses	Habitant
	Bap[tist]a Lorenzo [109] [Laurence ?]	36	Canada	Currier
	Pedro Cuzote	22	N^{a}. Orleans	Rower
	Luis Lemez [110]	30	N^{a}. Orleans	Shoemaker
	J[ose]ph Larduera	33	Canada	Shoemaker
	Jacobo Larduera [111]	28	Canada	Rower
	Antonio Larduera	24	Canada	Rower
	Luis Larduera	20	Canada	Rower
	Luis Brunet [112]	45	Canada	Hunter

Names	Age	Birthplace	Occupation
Antonio Brunet	18	Canada	Hunter
Joseph Cote	17	N^a. Orleans	Rower
Pablo Canpo [113]	35	Canada	Rower
Bap[tist]a Pety [114]	40	Canada	Rower
Luis Marcil [115]	40	Canada	Rower
Bap[tist]a Dujo	40	Canada	Habitant
Joseph Fache	38	Canada	Hunter
Juan Luis Derruen [116]	50	Canada	Habitant
Estevan Derruen	20	Canada	Rower
Juan Bap[tist]a Derruen	18	Canada	Rower
Gaspar Rubio [117]	50	France	Merchant
Antonio Rivera [118]	50	Ilinueses	Habitant
Bap[tist]a Rivera	26	Ilinueses	Rower
Ph[elip]e Rivera	18	Ilinueses	Rower
Esteban Beron [119]	50	France	Rower
Agustin Hever [120]	44	Ilinueses	Hunter
Fran[cis]co Marichar [121]	34	Ilinueses	Habitant
Joseph Ortiz [122]	34	Spain	Merchant
Joseph Beancur [123]	43	Canada	Rower
Bap[tis]ta Humet [124]	38	Canada	Rower
Pedro Gañon [125]	40	Canada	Mason
Juan Bap[tist]a Brucieras [126]	35	Canada	Rower
Guiery Denoye[127]	46	Canada	Habitant
Fran[cis]co Villar[s ?]	30	Canada	Rower
Luis Breda [128]	24	Ilinueses	Shoemaker
Fran[cis]co Bernie[r ?]	30	Canada	Rower
Gabriel Dodie [129]	48	Ilinueses	Habitant
Agustin Dodie [130]	23	Ilinueses	Rower
Bap[tist]a Henete	28	Ilinueses	Rower
Pedro Bequete [131]	43	Ilinueses	Rower
Gabriel Bequete	22	Ilinueses	Rower
Luis Bulrry [132]	46	France	Rope-maker
Lorenzo Ride	24	Ilinueses	Rower
Luis Boduen [133]	30	Canada	Habitant
Jo[se]ph Baduen [134]	25	Canada	Habitant
Ant[oni]o San Fran[cis]co [135]	25	Ilinueses	Rower
Bap[tıs]ta Trudo [136]	35	Canada	Rower
Luis Huno [137]	25	Ilinueses	Rower
Luis Ride [138]	50	Canada	Habitant
Guillermo Leconte [139]	46	Canada	Habitant
Joseph Leconte [140]	18	Ilinueses	Rower
Amable Guion	16	Ilinueses	Rower
Juan Martiny [141]	50	Canada	Trader
Joseph Ribar [142]	50	Canada	Trader
Joseph Bergé [143]	48	Canada	Hunter
Pedro Dechene	36	Canada	Trader
Juan Casa Noba	50	France	Rower

Names	Age	Birthplace	Occupation
Fran[cis]co Caida	40	France	Trader
J[ose]ph Tesier [144]	35	Canda [*sic*]	Rower
Juan Bap[tist]a Labreche [145]	34	Canada	Rower
Carlos Sanguinete [146]	43	Canada	Merchant
Joachim Roy	38	Canada	Carpenter
Fran[cis]co Barrera [147]	43	France	Baker
Luis Fache	50	France	Rower
Isac Tros [148]	36	American	Rower
Andres Fidecharme	45	France	Rower
Antonio Lajoy [149]	18	Ilinueses	Habitant

Summary:

Sergeants	3
Corporals	8
Enlisted men	96
Total	107

S^{n}. Luis de Ilinueses, December 20, 1780.

Fran^{co} Cruzat (rubric).

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[3] A Rene Roy was a "chirurgien major" at Fort de Chartres in 1744 and died there in 1745. He may have been related to this Nicolas. The name Roy and Le Roy, however, is quite common among the early French settlers. The Ste. Genevieve Roys originally came from Canada, but this Nicolas came from France, as probably did also the "chirurgien" with the troops, and hence they may have been related.

[4] Pierre Quesnal, dit Lafleur, married Susan Poupart. He had come to St. Louis from Kaskaskia and died October 6, 1798. A Quesnal or Guesnel, in 1760, married Louise Govreau at Ste. Genevieve.

[5] Louis Honore, dit Tesson, came from Fort de Chartres to St Louis. His wife was Magdelaine Petré. From the St. Anne church records it appears that he was a witness to a number of marriages, signing his name simply "Honore Tesson." His son, Louis Honore, junior, married Marie Duchouquette in 1782 in St. Louis, and in 1788, Therese Creely. Louis Honore-Tesson, senior, received a grant from St. Ange February 6, 1770, of the block now numbered 16 in St. Louis. His death occurred in 1807. A son, François Honore, married Susanne Liberge at Ste. Genevieve in 1787.

[6] Joseph Labusciere or Labuxiere. See note 8 ante, p. 71; also note 12, p. 104.

[7] This Pierre Gagnon in June 1780 must have been a resident of Cahokia because the court there appointed him syndic of the affairs of one Michel Bellau. A Gagnon lived in Ste. Genevieve in 1769 and may be a relative. Father Joseph Gagnon was parish priest at St. Anne in 1745 and also may have been related to this Pierre. There was also in St. Louis a Philibert Gagnon, who married Mary Claborn (Claybourne), widow of John Newby, evidently an English woman. But this Pierre Gagnon married Helene Mainville, dit Dechenes, in St. Louis. A Pierre Gagnon was a "marchand" in Quebec in 1666.

[8] The name Peter Ellis is found in the St. Louis Archives, but not "Elias." A grant of land was afterward confirmed to Peter Ellis by the Board of Land Commissioners.

[9] Jean Pierre Pourcelly, who died in St. Louis October 15, 1789, was also known by the name of "Provençal," because a native of that province of France. He was a trader, and married Marguerite Barada, who after his death married Antoine Flandrin. It seems he left two daughters, one named Margaret, who married Joseph Laferni or Lafernais, and the other Marie Rose who married Dominique Hugé.

[10] This name possibly stands for "Vifvarenne." He may have been a son of Jean Baptiste Vifvarenne, of Fort de Chartres. The name "Bibaren" is not found in the old Archives.

[11] Same as Jean Thomas Waldy. From the Archives it appears that he gave a mortgage to I. B. Provenchere.

[12] A Nicolas Leconte resided afterward at St. Ferdinand, as did also a Guillaume Leconte.

[13] They each claimed land in the St. Ferdinand commons.

[14] This name is spelled Soumande in Sulte and in the St. Louis Archives. From the fact that an inventory was made of his estate in St. Louis I infer that he died on one of his trips, although the church records contain no entry of the fact. A Pierre Soumade was a "Maitre Taillandier" at Quebec in 1666 — no doubt the ancestor of the St. Louis Soumandes.

[15] A Joseph Soumande claimed 700 arpents of land on the north side of White River in the Arkansas district.

[16] Joseph Chancelier, probably a descendant of Louis Chancelier "chirugien Major du Fort de Chartres." Joseph and Louis Chancelier, his brother, came on the first boat with Chouteau to where St. Louis now stands. Joseph was only 14 years old at that time and Louis not much older. Joseph married Elizabeth Becquet, the daughter of the miller, and Louis married Marie Louise Deschamps. Joseph died in 1784 at the age of 34 and Louis the following year. See *ante*, p. 56, note 17.

[17] Antoine Gauthier, married Elizabeth Becquet, widow of Joseph Chancelier. He moved to St. Charles where he was an officer in the militia and in command of the Fort "San Juan del Mi[illegible]ri" above St. Charles, presumably where the village of Charette afterward stood.

[18] François Vigo, a native of Genoa, a trader, partner of Leyba in the fur trade. He gave great aid to the Americans during the Revolutionary War and the Virginia forces in the Illinois country. He removed to Vincennes where he died. He was a conspicuous character in the early annals of the West.

[19] Should be Calvé, senior, long a prominent person in the Indian trade and acting as Indian agent for the English. He was suspected of double dealing by them and was also not in favor with the Spaniards for a time. He acted as agent or clerk for Datchurut and Viviat at one time, and then seems to have lived at Ste. Genevieve. He died at Florissant.

[20] Joseph Calve, junior, was killed by the Indians in the attack on St. Louis.

[21] Louis Potier. Ante, p. 105, note 25.

[22] For Pierre Gagnon, see *ante*, note 7.

[23] Gabriel Cerre, came to St. Louis from Kaskaskia about this time. For a number of years he was the leading merchant and trader in the western country, and was a very prominent man in those early days. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, pp. 40, 47, 74 *et seq.*

[24] A Laurent Derocher had a settlement right on the Dardenne, and this may be the same person.

[25] Joseph Calais resided for a time in the town of St. Louis, but removed to Florissant where he received a grant of land in the St. Ferdinand Commons.

[26] This name may stand for La Hage.

[27] This Jean Baptiste Hortez should not be confounded with Joseph Alvarez Ortiz, usually spelled Hortiz. This Ortiz or Hortiz was a native of Spain. But Jean Baptiste Hortes came from Bearne in France, the same place where Laclede was born, with whom he came to America. He arrived in St. Louis in 1768, and in 1782 married Elizabeth Barada, who was born at Vincennes, Sept. 27, 1764. He died in 1814, but his widow attained the age of 104 years, and died in St. Louis in 1868.

[28] Jean Louis la Croix came up from New Orleans, and was declared the sole heir of Jean Baptiste Hervieux. A Louis la Croix married Marie Louise Chouqette at Ste. Genevieve in 1765; in 1770, upon the death of his first wife, he married Marguerite Tellier and in 1778 upon the death of the latter he married Françoise le Beau. But the latter was a son of Pierre la Croix and Jeanne Barette, his wife, natives of Quebec, Canada. The name of la Croix, it should be remembered, was common in Canada.

[29] This is Jean Marie Pepin, dit Lachance, who was a son of Jean Pepin and Marie Louise Marchand, of the parish of St. Jean, l'isle Orleans, Quebec. In 1765 he resided in Ste. Genevieve, where in 1779 he married Catherine Lalumandiere. He was a mason by trade. This Pepin is very often confused with Joseph Marie Papin, a fur trader, who came to St. Louis from Canada in 1770 and married a daughter of Madame Chouteau. In 1790 this Jean Marie Pepin was detained in irons at Cahokia in custody of Tom Brady "huissier" because of being "a disturber of the public peace in this village" and instigating "a sedition against the (Cahokia) court." He was ordered to be taken under guard to the Mississippi and commanded to cross to the Spanish part of the Illinois country and "never to reappear in this village." Illinois Historical Collections, vol. ii, p. 437 *et seq.* In St. Louis he also gave the Spanish authorities trouble. Houck's History of Missouri, vol. i, p. 320.

[30] Louis Lafleur. Probably Louis Lambert, dit Lafleur. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 203.

[31] Dupré, probably related to Louis and Jean Baptiste Dupré, whose names appear in the St. Louis Archives. A Claude Dupré was a "maitre chirurgien" at Ste. Genevieve in 1774. See *ante*, p. 95, note 3.

[32] Paul Laderoute may have been a son or relative of the Rollet Laderoute who died in St. Louis November 15, 1775. From the St. Anne church records it appears that Michel Rollet, dit Laderoute, was a "soldat" at Fort de Chartres in 1762. He was a native of Dauphine, France, and in 1763 married Marguerite la Grain. He came to St. Louis on the boat with young Auguste Chouteau.

[33] A Louis Lasoudray filed a complaint against one Demeau and Le Page in Clark's Court at Cahokia in 1779, but they were acquitted and given the "Privalage to prosicute the said LaSoudray" and this probably caused him to come to St. Louis. From the St. Louis Archives it appears that he had some business with Gabriel Cerré. In 1746 a Sieur De la Soudray Monbrun was an officer at Fort de Chartres.

[34] Joseph Marcheteau dit Des Noyers, a brother of Louis. He married Madeline Robert at Cahokia, and after her death Elizabeth Leduc. One of his daughters, Jeanne, married Charles Routier, a second, J. B. Becquet, and a third, Catharine, François Bissonette. Also see note 12, p. 55, *ante*.

[35] Noel Burnet or Brunet. From the St. Louis Archives it appears that he had some business with Joseph Calvé, but no other entry is found. A Cecille Brunet claimed a lot afterward at Florissant before the Board of Land Commissioners. A Cecille Brunet is also a witness at a marriage recorded in the St. Anne church records in 1726, as was also Elizabeth Brunet. From this I infer that Noel likely came to St. Louis from Fort de Chartres. Isaac Brunet was enumerated as a person not married living on l'Isle d'Orleans in 1666.

[36] Louis Chevalier, who came from Cahokia, was a sub-lieutenant under Captain Pourée, afterward in the expedition against Fort St. Joseph, and a man "well versed in the language of the Indians," and for his services in this expedition the governor of Louisiana was ordered by the King to bestow on him an appropriate "gratification." He married Helen Tayon and died in St. Louis in 1801. He owned a grant of 40 arpents adjacent to St. Louis.

[37] Antoine Roussel, dit Sanssouci, married Françoise Vifvarenne.

[38] Nicolas Choret.

[39] Pierre Lebeau?

[40] The Pierre Papin who claimed 800 arpents vacant land before the Board of Land Commissioners may be the Pedro Pepen of the text.

[41] Jean Baptiste Lamirande. A Joseph Lamirande, who had business dealings with Antoine Dejarlais, appears in the St. Louis Archives.

[42] Touissant Parent or Parant. A Pierre Parans in Ste. Genevieve came from Beaupre, Quebec, Canada. Charles Parant was a resident at Fort de Chartres in 1748. His wife was Marie Barbe Le Viconte who lived in St. Louis after his death.

[43] Pierre Leroux or Larue. A Jean Larue lived in Kaskaskia.

[44] François Bourisse or Barrasseau.

[45] Louis Renaud or Renon. A Charles Renon, dit Arnaux, dit Leveille, lived at Kaskaskia. This name is also found in the St. Louis Archives.

[46] Jean Lapierre.

[47] Louis Lirette.

[48] Charles Valle, married Marguerite Cardinal at Kaskaskia, whence he came to St. Louis.

[49] Pierre Bissonette.

[50] Joseph Renaud or Renon.

[51] Andre Becquet.

[52] Andre Bissonette.

[53] Jean Baptiste Provenchére, married Marie Pepin, widow of Bissette.

[54] Henry O'Hara, from Kaskaskia, claimed 300 arpents on Glaize à Baquette near St. Louis.

[55] Joseph Marechal.
Antoine Marechal lived at St. Ferdinand in 1796.

[56] Jacques Marechal.

[57] Laurent Michon, a name found in the St. Louis Archives.

[58] Joseph Rivet claimed land extending from the river St. Ferdinand to the Missouri. He was a son of Pierre Rivet and Marie Demaret, and died in St. Louis in 1789.

[59] This name is not found in the St. Louis Archives. The name of Des Marest is found in lower Louisiana as land claimant.

[60] Sylvestre Labadie. See ante, p. 95, note 5.

[61] Bernard Duval.

[62] This must be Joseph M. Papin who came to St. Louis from Montreal with his father Joseph Papin in 1769. His father married Marguerite Laforce there and died in St. Louis in 1772. Joseph Marie married Marie Louise Chouteau. He died Septemeber 18, 1811.

[63] Charles Simoneau married Marie Picard and the lots he owned in St. Louis afterward were claimed by Charles Gratiot.

[64] François Bissonette married Catharine Marcheteau, dit Des Noyers, and came over to St. Louis from Cahokia. He died in 1787. He was probably a son of Jean Bissonette, a native of Canada, who settled in the Illinois conntry at an early day.

[65] Pierre Chouteau.

[66] He constructed and completed the first Catholic church of St. Louis. He sold his lot in St. Louis to Guillaume Herbert, dit Lecompte.

[67] Joseph Michel, dit Taillon or Tayon.

[68] François Corneau, whose will, giving his property to Jean Baptiste Bienvenue, dit De Lisle, was found in St. Louis.

[69] Joseph Labrosse. He died in 1798. See ante, p. 105, note 30.

[70] Joseph Verdon, who married Victoire Richelet.

[71] Louis Chauvet Dubreuil, a native of Rochelle, France, came to St. Louis in 1765, where for many years he was a leading trader. He married Susanne Saintous in St. Louis in 1772, and died in 1794, leaving a widow, two sons, and nine daughters. His widow died in 1825. One of his daughters, Clarissa, born in 1790, married Edward Hempstead January 13, 1808, at Ste. Genevieve, where the family then resided.

[72] This may be Pierre Dubois.

[73] Vallé.

[74] Jean Prevôt?

[75] Louis Mercier. See ante, p. 97, note 19.

[76] Collet spells the name "Chattelreau" but perhaps it is "Chatelherault." In the American State Papers the name is spelled "Chattlereau." The property of this Louis was sold in St. Louis by the "huissier."

[77] This name may stand for Salomon Petti or Petit, a name found in the Archives. The name of Patty I have been unable to discover. This Salomon claimed land in the St. Charles district.

[78] Paul Guitard. See ante, p. 96, note 15.

[79] This Lapierre in 1789 lived at Cahokia, and at the suit of Dumoulin, who was trustee for Labadie, the sum of "280 livres in buckskin, payable in May, 1792, due him from one Philip Grevais" was seized, or garnisheed, out of 1166 livres he owed Lapierre. A similar writ was issued in favor of Antoine Thibault, served by Tom Brady, "huissier" of Cahokia. Alvord, Illinois Historical Collections, vol. ii, pp. 421-423.

[80] Jacques Noise, dit L'Abbe. See ante, p. 90, note 9.

[81] Hotte or Haut.

[82] Antoine Oliver, dit Bellepeche. He died in St. Louis, October 5, 1786. Catharine Moreau, his widow, claimed land under a Spanish patent in Opolousas, lower Louisiana.

[83] The name may stand for "Beaufrere" although no such name is found in the Archives. A Pierre Beaufre made claim to land in Vincennes in 1785, and may be the same. It seems that his claim to the land in Vincennes was rejected because he arrived there after 1783, which would indicate that he might have resided in St. Louis at the time this muster roll was made.

[84] Claimed land in St. Ferdinand.

[85] Antoine Vincent Bouis, who was generally known as Vincent. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 54.

[86] This name occurs once in the St. Louis Archives, but a man named Daniel is found in Dr. Conde's list of account, and marked "paid."

[87] Name spelled Thibault, or Tibeau. This Joseph married Marie Louis Vincennes. A Joseph Tibeau lived in St. Charles and claimed a lot there.

[88] A contraction of the name Pelletier. Came over from Cahokia, where the family lived as early as 1751. See ante, p. 59, note 42.

[89] He came from Fort de Chartres, and died in St. Louis, January 3, 1784. See ante, p. 57, note 37. The Lamis were among the very first settlers of the Illinois country, and lived at Fort de Chartres before 1725, because on the 24th of November, 1725, "un garcon de legitime mariage Jean Nicolas Becquet et de Catharine Baran, ses pere et mere" married the widow of one Lami on that day as appears from one of the entries of the St. Anne church record.

[90] Henri Douchouquette. See ante, p. 99, note 39.

[91] Alexis Loise probably came from Fort de Chartres, where a Jean Baptiste Lois de Mons lived in 1746. See also ante, p. 104, note 15.

[92] The representatives of a Jean Bodoin made claim to land in the St. Ferdinand common fields, and presumably this is the same person named in this roll. Joseph Bodoin, dit L'Habitant, was his son. Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 72.

[93] Jacques la Sabloniere.

[94] See Henrion. See ante, p. 59, note 34.

[95] Touissant la Rose.

[96] Nicolas Beaugenou.

[97] Jacques Thibault or Tibeau.

[98] Simon Coussot or Coussotte married Marie Louis Lalande and came to St. Louis from Fort de Chartres. A François Coussot at Fort de Chartres in 1761 was the husband of Madeline Kiercerau.

[99] Antoine Lesieur.

[100] Louis Crepeau came from Vincennes to St. Louis. Josephine Crepeau, who married Eugenio Alvarez, may have been his sister. The heirs of Joseph Crepeau had an ancient grant at Vincennes, as did also the heirs of Louis Crepeau. A Joseph "Crepo," soldier, died in St. Louis, January 28, 1786.

[101] Jean Gibert, dit La Fontaine, or perhaps Montagne. In 1743 an Antoine Gilbert or Gibert, dit La Montagne, was a sergeant at Fort de Chartres in the "compagnie de Mimbret," but in 1746 he was said to be sergeant in another entry in the "compagnie de M. de Grand Pre." Jean Gibert was married to Marie Josette Faveau, also a Fort de Chartres name.

[102] Joseph Girard. It may be that this name stands for Joseph Tibeau or Tibault, dit Girard. But see ante, p. 97, note 20.

[103] Joseph Chartran or Chartrand from St. Louis removed to St. Charles. In 1801 he received a grant at Charette, where he was syndic. The family came over from Kaskaskia. Amable Chartran was a resident of Cahokia in 1787. Originally the family came from Montreal and undoubtedly was among the first settlers of the Illinois country. This Joseph Chartran seems to have had business relations with Des Bruisseau.

[104] Joseph Roubidoux or Robidou, became one of the principal merchants of St. Louis and an extensive fur trader. He was interested in the Spanish Commercial Company as one of the stockholders and opposed to the management of Clamorgan of the affairs of the company. He married Catharine Rollet, dit Laderoute. One of his sons, also named Joseph, became the founder of St. Joseph. For particulars see Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, pp. 232, 253.

[105] François Fleury, dit Grenier. From the St. Louis Archives it would seem that he had some business with La Busciere. A Joseph Grenier was a land claimant in the Kaskaskia land district.

[106] In 1787 a Joseph Jonka, who came from Canada, and son of Pierre Jonka and Marie Fournier married Marguerite Farkinpin. A "Mendiase," i. e., a mendicant or beggar. A creek named "Jonca" in Ste. Genevieve and St. François counties, probably derived its name from this family.

[107] A Nicolas Lacompte made a claim to land on Fifi creek, but his name does not appear in the St. Louis Archives.

[108] This is probably Gregoire Kiercereau, junior. See ante, p. 105, note 29.

[109] Spelled variously Lorin, Laurin, Lorain, or Lorenz. The St. Louis Archives show that a Jean Baptiste Lorenzo gave Jean Marie Durand a power of attorney. A Joseph Lorens married Marguerite, the widow of Antoine Barada. From the Cahokia records it appears that in 1787 for a debt he owed Tom Brady "the funds belonging to M. Lorens, farmer, on the Spanish side, now in possession of M. Jean Baptiste LaCroix, the value of a side of leather and a spur" were seized and the said La Croix forbidden "to dispossess himself thereof" until Lorens had satisfied the "said Tom Brady." This is probably the Baptiste Lorenzo named in this muster roll.

[110] Louis Lemay, or Ouimet, came to St. Louis from St. Philippe. In 1782 he sued in the Cahokia court "for a plowshare, which had been taken from his plow by M. Cesirre under the alleged pretext that the said Lemay owed him fifteen francs." Alvord, Illinois Historical Collections, vol. ii, p. 133. At this time Lemay lived at St. Philippe, perhaps having moved back to that place from St. Louis. In another case he was condemned to return some spokes he took from Jean Lapance "in the woods of the Big Mushrooms." Id., p. 91.

[111] Joseph Laderoute, Antoine Laderoute, Jacques Laderoute, and Louis Laderoute came to St. Louis from Kaskaskia where they appear to have had claims for land. It is probable that they were not related to Rollet, dit Laderoute.

[112] No doubt related to Noel Brunet. See ante, p. 191, note 35.

[113] Paul Campeau from Cahokia, where he claimed a house and lot.

[114] Jean Baptise Petit, who married Therese Charron in St. Louis. The name "Petit" is often a "dit." Thus we have Jean Baptiste Lepre, dit Petit, and Françoise Milhomme, dit Petit, at Ste. Genevieve.

[115] This may be Louis Marechal, a name found among the habitants of Kaskaskia. Dujo may possibly be Pujol.

[116] Jean Louis Derouin, Etienne Derouin, and Jean Baptiste Derouin. In 1745 it appears that Reine Derouin, wife of the "Sergent d'une compagnie detachée de la marine" named Hervie was present at the baptism of a child of a "soldat de cette garrison." Collot says Derouin means De Roy. Etienne Derouin married Marianne Guion Guitard.

[117] Gaspar Roubieu, dit Euopean, married the widow of Dr. Conde and from St. Louis moved to St. Charles where he died. He acted as secretary for Blanchette and Tayon at times.

[118] Antoine Riviere, dit Baccane, came to St. Louis from Fort de Chartres. His father also named Antoine was a native of Canada and in 1716 married Henrietta Aufray at Kaskaskia. His son Antoine (2) married Barbara Eloy at Fort de Chartres in 1752 and in 1765 came to St. Louis with Laclede and Madame Chouteau by land. For further particulars see ante, p. 56, note 31, His son Antoine (3), born in 1745, married Adelaide Lefebvre. Jean Baptiste, born in 1752, married Marguerite Vial. Another son, Philip, was born in 1757. married Marie Pinot, and after her death Leberge. He died in 1812. Rivière (2) also had four daughters; one, Pelagie, married Auguste Dodier; Marie Jeanne married Louis Hunand, and when he died, Jean B. Grez, dit Capitaine; but two other daughters it does not appear married.

[119] This name is not found in the Archives. One Augustin Buron, who claimed land near St. Ferdinand, was likely a descendant.

[120] Augustin Herbert.

[121] François Marechal, a son of Nicolas Marechal, a native of France and who at Fort de Chartres married a half-blood Indian named Marie Jeanne Isleret. François married Marie Therese Rivière in 1770. Billon's Annals, vol. i., p. 429.

[122] This man, whose name is usually and improperly spelled Hortiz, was a native of Lienira, Estrumadura, Spain, and came to St. Louis as a young soldier with the first Spanish troops. He possessed some education, and acted in various capacities as scrivener for Trudeau and De Lassus. He married Marianne Becquet, daughter of Jean Baptiste Becquet, and died in 1808.

[123] I am unable to find the name Beancur or the name Biencoeur in any of the old French or Spanish records.

[124] Baptiste Quinet?

[125] Pierre Gagnon. See ante, p. 190, note 22.

[126] Jean Baptiste Brucieres or Brugiere married Marie Angelique Guitard.

[127] Kiery Marcheteau, dit Kiery Des Noyer. See ante, p. 55, note 12.

[128] Louis Barada, was a native of Vincennes and son of Antoine Barada and his wife Marguerite Desrosier. Louis married Marie Becquet, daughter of Jean B. Becquet. In 1800 he removed to St. Charles, where he died.

[129] Gabriel Dodier. See ante, p. 56, note 29.

[130] Augustin Dodier.

[131] Pierre Becquet.

[132] This is Louis Boury, dit Grand Louis.

[133] Louis Bodoin. He owned a lot in the village of Carondelet.

[134] Joseph Bodien.

[135] Antoine St. Françoise, married Charlotte Larcheveque.

[136] Jean Baptiste Truteau married Magdalen Roy. His daughter was named Euphrasine and she married Louis Bissette. It seems the name was not spelled with a "d" as was the name of the Lieutenant Governor.

[137] Louis Hunot or Hunaut.

[138] Louis Ride. See ante, p. 55, note 9.

[139] Guillaume Lecompte.

[140] Joseph Lecompte.

[141] Jean Martigny.

[142] Joseph Rivat.

[143] Joseph Berger. A creek emptying its waters into the Missouri named "Berger" probably named for this hunter. A Pierre Berger was a merchant of St. Louis and died there in 1787.

[144] Joseph Tessier, came to St. Louis from Fort de Chartres.

[145] Jean Baptiste Labreche was a son of Charles Labreche a native of Montreal, Canada. In 1792 he married the widow of Joseph Courtois and, after her death, Elizabeth Mercier at Ste. Genevieve.

[146] Charles Sanguinet was born in 1740 at Quebec, Canada, being the son of Simon Sanguinet, a notary there. He came to St. Louis in 1775, as a widower, where he married Marie Condé, daughter of Dr. Conde in 1779. He died in St. Louis in 1818 aged 78 years, and was survived by a large family.

[147] François Barrere married Genevieve Catoire, widow of Guillaume Paille. They were not fortunate in their matrimonial venture and agreed to separate but had difficulties about their community property.

[148] Isaac Trust?

[149] Antoine Lajoy, Lajoie, or Lejoy. A common "dit" among the French habitants of the Illinois country. Thus we find Jaquemine, dit Lajoie, Leroux, dit Lajoie, Falle, dit Lajoie. A Pierre Lejoy was a resident of Cahokia and a Louis Lejoy lived at St. Ferdinand. This Antoine cannot be traced satisfactorily.

XLI

LETTER OF INTENDANT NAVARRO TO CRUZAT, FEBRUARY 15, 1781

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba

Having examined what Your Grace has advised this government of on various dates from September 26 to December 22 of last year, I shall reply in order to all of them, and to each one in this single official communication, because the many diverse matters of the royal service in which I am sunk by the absence of the Governor do not allow time for more.

I can do no less than give Your Grace a thousand thanks for the zeal and activity with which you made the voyage to that village of San Luis in fifty-nine days,[1] arriving at the time most propitious to enable you to place those settlements in a state of defense. The fact that Your Grace took two days more in reaching the American settlement of the Iron Mine[2] preserved you doubtless from an encounter which might have been fatal. I have learned that the Indians succeeded badly with their enterprise, as I hope will happen in whatever they undertake in those districts. This is all I have to reply to the first letter of Your Grace, dated Septemeber 26, last.

By the letter of the 27th of the same month, Your Grace informs our Governor of the critical condition to which you found that village and the other settlements reduced, on account of the threats of the English, and even more, because of the irregular administration which they have experienced. The memory of the occurrence and the causes which produced so pitiful a catastrophe dictate the measures and efforts which Your Grace ought to take. Your zeal and love to the service by which you have always been known to distinguish yourself, at the same time that they will give you the general esteem of all, for your accurate efforts in the defense of those places, will give Your Grace a thousand means for rendering vain the attempts and undertakings of the enemy without the least of those settlements having any reason to complain of the Commandant.

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[1] The voyage from New Orleans to St. Louis usually consumed ninety days at that time.

[2] Afterward known as the "Iron banks" — first high land on the left bank of the Mississippi below the mouth of the Ohio, not far from the present Columbus, Kentucky.

I am informed that Your Grace assumed the command of those settlements from Lieutenant Don Francisco de Cartabona[3] on September 24, and that you began immediately to take the measures which you considered most conducive to placing the village in a state of defense. With this motive, and in view of the orders of the Court and special instructions which I have, I shall not hesitate to advise Your Grace that notwithstanding your great disinterestedness and the indispensable urgency of a post remote from the capital and threatened every instant by enemies, Your Grace must regulate the expenses incurred with wisdom and economic prudence, without failing in what is necessary, and considering only what is strictly useful, not avoiding likewise any effort and requisite that conduces to it, so that whatever expenses are incurred may appear here to be of clear and evident utility.

I am very greatly pleased with the promptness with which those habitants are ready to sacrifice themselves in defense of the fatherland and the honor of our arms. Your Grace may from now on assure them of the protection of our sovereign who will not discontinue to reward good citizens as he has always done, and of which we have a recent example in the numerous promotions made in that colony because of the conquests of the English settlements of that river.

I believe it is excellent for Your Grace to have signalized the zeal and affection of the Sac tribe who have so generously lent [aid] to our district in circumstances of so little advantage [to them]. I have reported to our General the good services of the retired officer, Don Esteban Boucher de Mombrun.[4] Your Grace shall encourage him to continue with the same valor, zeal, and experience by assuring him of the particular distinction with which our General will always regard him. He approves immediately the measures that Your Grace has taken of entrusting to this officer a detachment of thirty-two militiamen. In regard to this and other individuals, Your Grace shall make any request in future for the royal interests. It is necessary to proceed with the greatest care, in order to obviate all suspicion, at the same time avoiding the complaints of private persons who must suffer the burdens, and be benefited with all impartiality, preferring those who bear themselves best, and show the greatest zeal and love for the good of the service.

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[3] He came to Upper Louisiana with Leyba, as second in command, and was stationed at Ste. Genevieve.

[4] No doubt a relative of Jacques Timothe Bouchèr de Monbreún of Kaskaskia, a descendant of Pierre Boucher, governor of Trois Rivières, Canada, who was enobled in 1660.

On this occasion 16 medals are sent and 10 flags with 16 letters-patent which Your Grace is to distribute among the chiefs of the Sac tribe, who, according to Your Grace's advice of the 28th of September, surrendered thirteen English medals and three banners.

Your Grace shall distribute the presents of this year, which are sent by the lighters, in consideration of the fact that we have no effects at present. It is not known when we shall have them, because a powerful fleet which left Havana to attack Panzacola under command of our Governor, suffered a storm of five days' duration, so furious that it scattered all the boats, many of which lost their masts. Among them were the war frigates, which put back to Havana with three transports. On the thirteenth of this month two were captured at Movila and at this river by the English, and the balance of the vessels put into Campeche Bay after sustaining rough usage, whence they did not sail until the fifth of this month. We are daily awaiting our Governor, who is to come with one thousand men, after having sent forward the five hundred who are here. Your Grace will see by this detail what a disaster the measures taken by our General for the inner government of the colony and the contentment of the savage tribes, both friends and enemies, must have suffered.[5]

It is advisable to continue our devotion to the Otabuas[6] tribes, especially since they can serve us greatly in the present circumstances by opposing the bands of our enemies who might attack those settlements as they did the band of Monsieur Langlade,[7] whom they obliged to retire to Michilimakinac. That event and the departure of the two English barks laden with ammunition of war and provisions broke the measures which our enemies had taken to attack these settlements the second time. I hope that Your Grace's zeal will deal with all those tribes in such manner that concurring with our arms in sustaining the honor and glory of our nation, its hopes may have an equally good outcome next spring.

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[5] Instead of suffering disaster as Navarro supposed, Galvez captured Pensacola. Although the storms scattered his first expedition against Pensacola, with great perseverance he persisted in his scheme, and on February 28, 1781, left Havana with two frigates and several transports and 1400 men. When he arrived near Pensacola he landed his troops and stores on the island of St. Rose, and erected a battery to support the fleet in passing the bar; but the admiral, Don Jose Cabro de Irazabal, refused to co-operate and sent one of his frigates home. Galvez, however, with the brig Galveston, a schooner, and the two gunboats under his control as governor of Louisiana, crossed the harbor bar with his forces, standing on the deck of the brig Galveston with his staff and receiving the British fire without injury, and landed at the bottom of the bay amid the cheers of his troops. This forced the admiral to follow his example, and after a siege the English garrison capitulated May 9, 1781. Galvez's journal of the campaign exists in MS. at the Archivo General de Indias in Seville.

[6] Ottawas.

Your Grace has done excellently in observing with the official, Monsieur La Balme,[8] the prudent conduct of which you give advice on September 23, last. Although I do not believe that there will be the least difficulty from the habitants of that village having the present, which they request, and which belongs to them for the three months of April, May, and June, when they performed service, and which was not granted them by the late Commandant, Don Fernando de Leyva, I have been unwilling to take upon myself the granting of the petition until it is decreed by our General, who will immediately do it in favor of those militias, for which purpose I shall report to him the justice of the request.

Madame de Volsey[9] is in this city. On the date of November 14, last, Your Grace advised me that you sent her against your will, because of the occasion of one Malvo. We shall do our best to settle this matter, which appears a trifle difficult, and it was finally consigned.

I am advised that Monsieur Sarpi has given you three thousand five hundred pesos fuertes for the support of the officers and troops of that detachment, acording to the advice of November 15, last.[10]

I am not displeased at the measures which Your Grace took in that post one week after your arrival because of the alarm in those posts of giving each militiaman, and all the slaves who can bear arms, one-half libra [*i.e.*, pound] of powder, and one libra of balls, with orders to keep them for any event, and to prove, when they use it, that it was in the service of the giver.

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[7] Charles Michael de Langlade, British Indian agent.

[8] Col. Louis Motlin de la Balme, a French officer, who served in the Revolutionary War, organized an expedition against Detroit at Cahokia. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. i, p. 309; Illinois Historical Collections, Alvord, vol. ii, p. xc.

[9] Elizabeth de Villiers, daughter of Chevalier Neyon de Villiers, the last French commandant of Fort de Chartres, married Pierre François de Volsay there in 1758. She, however, was not a faithful wife and for a time lived with one Kiercereau, dit Renaud, named "Malvo" in this letter. Her mother was Elizabeth St. Ange, a sister of Louis St. Ange de Bellerive. It is a mistake to suppose that she belonged to Coulon de Villiers family. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 5, note 5.

[10] Jean Baptiste Sarpy, from Funel, Gascony, France, a merchant both of New Orleans and St. Louis. He died in New Orleans in 1798 unmarried.

I retain the review lists for the two months which the detachment that ascended to Santa Genoveva at the orders of Lieutenant Don Carlos Vallee, to whom the present was supplied entire, as well as to the other militiamen of that village, stayed in those posts.

It is well for Your Grace to supply by contract the wood needed by the Indians, although, as I have suggested, it will be advisable to economize expenses, only spending what seems absolutely indispensable. In this matter I have believed it well for Your Grace to lessen the number of employes in this service to one hundred men from November 1, last.

I do not believe it bad for Your Grace to keep Monsieur Boucher de Mombrun, with a detachment of forty militiamen, on the Misisipi among the Sac tribe forty leagues from that village, and Monsieur Maye with another detachment of twelve militiamen on the Ylinoa River in order to observe the movements of the enemy and to win the affection of the tribes, by attracting those who are undecided to accept our friendship, and maintaining our allies in the condition that is advisable for the conservation of those settlements.

Although the information communicated by Your Grace to the government on the 13 of November last, concerning the disembarcation of the French in the River of San Lorenzo [*i.e.*, St. Lawrence] does not appear well founded, still it does not cease to be useful in restraining the savages and wanderers who are among them.

If Your Grace could be assured by means of the savages of the commanders who are persuading them to descend to attack those posts, it would be the only method of pacifying those districts without the cost of a single drop of blood. Therefore, Your Grace shall do your best to discover exactly whomever you know in the tribes contrary to our interests. I see the difficulty of the undertaking, but I do not doubt that it can be attained with some, in which case, we shall have fewer enemies.

The accident that occurred with Balafre, the principal chief of the tribe of the Little Osages, will not, I believe, have greater results whenever the skill and attention of the tribe is given to understand how much cause the said Balafre had in his own destruction. Their anger may be erased with some small present; but you shall keep on the lookout and give the orders suitable, so that no accident which may have bad results may again happen.

I have read with special satisfaction Your Grace's information of the 14th of November last, namely, that the Renard tribe requested that it be taken under the protection of the Spanish flag; and really since much utility may result from an alliance with that tribe, Your Grace shall contrive to take the measures possible for confirming their affection and friendship to us, notwithstanding our scarcity of all things.

I am very sorry at what happened to Monsieur la Balme,[11] and that in my opinion, the same had a great part in having perhaps attempted, with imprudence, an undertaking which needed more time, more strength, and better circumstances.

Since there does in effect result considerable burden to the royal treasury from buying in those places anything for presents for the Indians, it is advisable, as I have suggested, not to take anything from any of those traders who are able to take advantage of the occasion by causing two hundred per cent more to be paid for their merchandise, so that at last, the end of contenting the savage tribes is not attained, whether because of the scarcity or perhaps because of the inferior quality of the goods.

The disinterestedness and true affection that Monsieur Serre[12] has shown to the nation in all commissions for the service which have been entrusted to his honor and experience shall not remain without recompense. For that reason I shall relate those services to our general as soon as he arrives in this province, which as he writes cannot be long delayed. I shall also remember the special recommendation which Your Grace gives Don Agustin Chuteau, who was chosen to direct the fortification of that post because of the capacity, zeal, and love to the royal service which he has shown on various occasions.

I hope that in spite of the great presents which are distributed by the English among those tribes, and notwithstanding the small sum that we have, their hopes will prove empty, even though the [English] governor descend from Michilimakinak, which I doubt.

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[11] His expedition proved a failure; he fell in ambush and he and most of his party were killed by the Indians. Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 309.

[12] Gabriel Cerre.

At all events, the zeal, honor, and acitvity of Your Grace promise me a happy result on our part in their boasted attack on those settlements next spring.

I approve the determination which Your Grace took with the tribes of the Misuri, in making them hand over the two English banners which had been introduced among them.

Chuteau delivered me the fourteen medals and five English flags which Your Grace recovered from the Sac and Pus tribes. As I have said, they were replaced on this occasion.

Having been persuaded that Your Grace will have decided to fortify that village with the stockade of which you give advice in your letter of December last, and whose plan was given me by Chuteau, only after mature reflection and in view of the best service to the King, observing throughout, moreover, the economy possible; considering even that this work will be finished before the arrival of the lighters: I approve it with the reservation of what our General will say.

Since the effects, which Your Grace took from Monsieur Sarpi and which were not used, have their kind among those which are sent on this occasion for the present of this year, they shall be returned to the said Sarpi, or put into his possession, keeping in force the contract made, for the end of economizing as much as possible the expenses caused the royal treasury, which are already great, and will immediately appear exorbitant from the simple inspection of Sarpi's note. I do not pretend by this to tax as heedless Your Grace's conduct in these circumstances, for I know in your evident zeal and disinterestedness the fatal results that could be produced by the anger and displeasure of the savage tribes who are so powerful in that part of the world. But at the same time the orders of the court directed to this government, to excuse all expense that is not indispensable in order to economize the expenses of the royal treasury as much as possible, without failing in what is necessary in this matter, are very necessary, evident, and positive. You shall regulate your conduct by these principles, and in this way we shall both avoid the responsibility which we could have by neglecting this prudent conduct.

Whenever the American commandants of the western bank of this river agree to observe the same uniform conduct with us, Your Grace shall surrender the deserters whom they demand, under their word of honor not to punish them. But if they do not keep the same rule with us, you shall not surrender any of all those that present themselves. I believe that Your Grace should first have some order in regard to this particular from our Governor or from me issued, in consequence of an official communication given for that purpose by Don Rivero Pollok,[13] agent of the United States.

In regard to what Your Grace says to me in your letter of December 22, last, on the peace concluded between the American colonies and their former mother-country, it lacks foundation, as does also the coming of Col. Clark with six hundred men to attack those settlements; and I am quite assured that if his arrival is effected with a like number, you will enjoy more tranquillity than you do now.

I approve Your Grace's formation of the 2d company of militia, which was approved by the Governor-General of this province, January 13, of last year. I do not doubt that the said governor will, as soon as he arrives, issue the fitting despatches to all the officers whom Your Grace proposes, as well as the office of the Adjutant-in-chief in favor of Don Benito Vasquez, in accordance with Your Grace's report in regard to those proposed.

It is a good thing for Your Grace to always keep alive, and investigate and inquire closely into the actions of your neighbors, from whom I do not believe there is anything for you to fear, less than that they will be seen to be abandoned and come by themselves to make effective the scattered rumors that those habitants are planning to send a messenger to the strait, demanding to be English vassals, and begging the protection of His Britannic Majesty. Your Grace will keep the sharpest lookout and take the greatest precautions, and shall continue to exercise the said attention, in order not to be surprised under any circumstances.

I shall give the fitting orders, for a post to be despatched overland from Los Arcos with the news of the ascent of the convoy, in order that Your Grace may send a pirogue to meet it in order to inform it of the innovations which might have occurred in those settlements, and opportunely avoid the fatal results that might follow from not proceeding with safety and with a full knowledge of all things.

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[13] Oliver Pollock came to New Orleans in 1769, Gen. O'Reilly then being in command of the country. He arrived in the Brig Royal Charlotte, loaded with flour, and at the time, owing to scarcity of flour, it sold at 30 dollars a barrel. Finding this to be the situation, he waited on Gen. O'Reilly and offered his cargo of flour and told him to fix the price for it; this O'Reilly declined. Pollock then said that as the King had three thousand troops there, and needed flour, he did not wish to take advantage of the situation and offered his flour at 15 dollars a barrel, to which O'Reily readily agreed, and observed that he would make a note of his liberality and that as long as he was in command he should have free trade there. This trade he enjoyed, and when O'Reilly left he recommended him to Unzaga, and Unzaga to Galvez, etc. When the Revolution began Pollock was appointed representative of the United Colonies at New Orleans, enjoying the confidence of the Spanish officials. At various times he received from them secret service money, amounting to 75,000 dollars to be disbursed for the benefit of the colonies.

Your Grace reports on the interpreter, Antonio D'Tretreque[14] [*sic*], in regard to his continual work and fatigue, and endeavor shall be made to recompense [him for] them; for which purpose the matter shall be reported to the Governor as soon as he arrives.

I forgot to advise Your Grace that no contract or writ for the King, which is not in the Spanish language, must be made or signed by Your Grace. This order must be observed with religious scrupulousness, as such are the wishes of the sovereign.

The certificates given by Your Grace to the militia of that post are discounted by the chief accountancy of this army and province for the allowance of the present which is made in the formal contract for said militia by the review lists which Your Grace sent me November 11, last, and which were sent to the Intendant, as well as an official communication for the undertaking of the lighter, which was provisioned by Lieutenant Don Francisco Cartabona, whose surrender or payment was asked by Monsieur Cerre.

The report of the supplies which Your Grace sent me of those in that post with the note that you are unprovided with many things, which are indispensable in case of attack, does not mention the things that Your Grace needs. I showed it to an artillery officer, and, according to his opinion, the cannon sponges are lacking, which Your Grace can procure there at less cost than here. It is impossible to send any fuses as we have not here what we need for the service of the camp. However, as Your Grace will see by the enclosed, some balls of the caliber of 6 and 4, with some tools for the service of that detachment, are sent. Since there is an abundance of lead at that post, Your Grace can make some grape shot for the artillery, for which purpose the suitable cartridges will be sent.

The conduct which Your Grace has observed in regard to the representation made by the habitants of Post Vincennes is highly approved by me, as well as the fact that Your Grace has been demanding the collars which the American agent Monsieur Dodge[15] has kept.

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[14] Probably Antoine Des Hetre, who came to St. Louis from Cahokia. The Des Hetres were a family of Indian interpreters. Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, page 67, note 141.

[15] John Dodge.

Since this is really a procedure not at all consequent to the perfect harmony that ought to reign between us, I have reported the matter to Monsieur Polok, who disapproving the act writes on this occasion an order to the effect that the six said collars be surrendered to Your Grace. Your Grace shall, on your part, advise me of the results at the first opportunity.

Although Your Grace is under the necessity of applying to the department of the friendship of the Indians, some part of the ammunition destined for service and defense of those settlements, Your Grace shall send a report stating clearly each thing, that is to say, that Your Grace must submit a certification of what was used in presents for the Indians and in addition what was used in the defense of the posts, in which particular Your Grace shall be especially careful.

May God, etc. Nueva Orleans, February 15, 1781.

MARTIN NAVARRO (rubric).

Addressed: "Don Francisco Cruzat."

XLII

LETTER OF DON JOSÉ DE GALVEZ, MINISTER OF THE INDIES — 1782

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Documents from the Island of Cuba, 1782

No. 62. The King has received with the utmost satisfaction and gratification the information contained in the letter of Your Excellency of the 26th of last October, No. 28, in which referring to another letter written by the commandant of Ylinoeses to the Governor *ad interim* of Luisiana he reports the profitable conquest of the post of San Josef, two hundred and thirty leagues from San Luis, which was occupied by the English. The King applauded the courage and prudent conduct of the captain of militia, Don Eugenio Rirré,[1] commandant of the detachment which formed the attack; of the sub-lieutenant of the same, Don Carlos Tuyon; and of the interpreter, Don Luis Chavalier, employed in the expedition; and as a proof of his satisfaction with their service he has deigned to confer upon the first the rank of lieutenant in the army on half pay, and on the second that of sub-lieutenant on half pay, and to command that Your Excellency shall assign to the third such a gratification as shall appear appropriate.

God grant Your Excellency many years. El Pardo, January 15, 1782.

GALVEZ.[2]

S^{R}. D^{N}. BERNARDO DE GALVEZ.

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[1] Pourée

[2] He was the uncle of Bernardo de Galvez. He was born in Vélez Malaga in 1729. His education was pursued in the University of Madrid, where he obtained the degree of Doctor of Laws and where he became known as a poet and literary man as well as a learned jurisconsult; he defended several important causes which gained him great distinction. There also he became acquainted with many Frenchmen of rank, becoming indeed the advocate of the French ambassador. By the latter he was introduced to the Spanish minister, Grimaldi, who appointed him his secretary. His rise was rapid, and he was soon made a member of the Council of the Indies. Being sent to America in 1765 as general visitor with the fullest powers, with the mission to examine especially into the affairs of the viceroy of Mexico, he acquitted himself of his task with great credit, and as a direct result of his work, the finances of Mexico were greatly strengthened. On his return to Spain in 1775, he was made first minister of the Indies with the title of Marquis of Sonora, from a colony of that name which he had founded in the Sonora Valley. He was always a good and conscientious worker, and in his later years lost the leaning toward the French which had characterized his earlier life. His death occurred in 1786. See Diccionario enciclopédico Hispano-Americano, vol. ix.

XLIII

LETTER OF GOVERNOR MIRÓ[1] TO DON JOSEPH GALVEZ — 1782

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Documents from the Island of Cuba

Peace with Indians.]

SYNOPSIS

No. 10. The interim governor of Luisiana encloses a copy of a letter of the lieutenant governor of Ylinieses, stating that he had made peace with a hundred and forty tribes of warlike Indians. The king hears the report with satisfaction, and directs that Miró shall endeavor by all possible means to confirm his friendship with the tribes who have made the convention; and that to this end, and with the purpose of bringing in the others, he shall consult with Colonel Maxent, who has already gone with a large supply of merchandise for gifts and trade with the Indians.

October 28; dated October 29.

FIRST LETTER

YOUR EXCELLENCY:

I enclose a copy of a letter which I have just received from the lieutenant governor of the settlements of Ylinoeses, that Your Excel-

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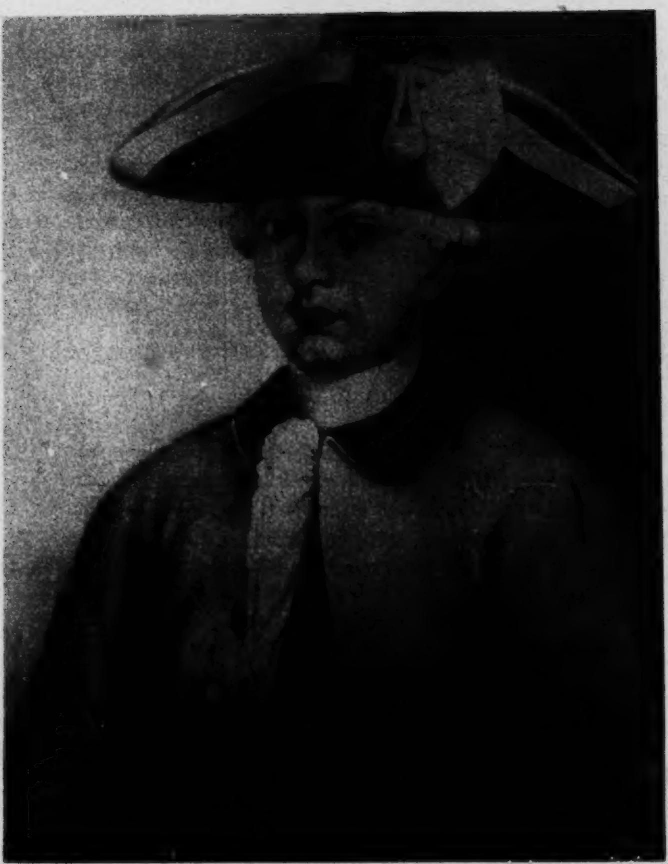
[1] Estéban Miró succeeded Galvez as Governor of Louisiana in 1785 and remained in office until 1791. He was a native of Spain and Colonel of the Louisiana Regiment when appointed. In the expedition against Manchac and Baton Rouge he was second in command under Galvez. During his administration of affairs as Governor he was first visited by Gen. James Wilkinson, at that time a resident of Kentucky, and the intrigues to separate the West from the United States began. The settlers of the western part of North Carolina, now Tennessee, who had made repeated-efforts to establish a separate state government, calling their section Frankland, or Cumberland, gave it the name "District of Miro" in order to secure Spanish support. In a letter to Gen. Dan Smith, one of the leaders in this movement, Miró says he felt himself "highly honored by that compliment" and that he would do all he could "to contribute to the development of the resources of that province." It was with Miró that O'Fallon negotiated in order to plant a colony at Nogales, now Vicksburg, under Spanish protection, seeking by this means to perfect if possible the title to land claimed by the South Carolina Land Company, which he represented. While Miró was Governor the commercial restrictions upon the river trade were also partially relaxed, and a number of American families first settled in Louisiana. From Louisiana Miró returned to Spain, was appointed a Brigadier-General and afterward attained the rank of *Mariscal de Campo*, or Major-General. In Louisiana he married a Macarty. Morris



From a History of Louisiana, by Alcée Fortier.
By permission of Manzi, Joyant & Co., Paris and New York.

MIRO

lency may see from it the advance made in those regions, and the necessity of preserving friendship with the Indians at any cost in order to protect the province as a whole, for according to my information those who at present are favorable to us reach the number of forty thousand.

In this connection I can do no less than represent to Your Lordship the unwearying zeal of the said lieutenant governor in gaining over these numerous tribes, in spite of the scanty supply and scarcity among us of goods, while the enemy scatters presents by handfuls among these barbarous tribes.

God grant Your Excellency many years.

Nueva Orleans, May 14, 1782.

Your Excellency's most obedient servant kisses your hands.

ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

His Excellency Sr. Dn. Joseph de Galvez.

SECOND LETTER

SIR:

Four principal chiefs and forty Indians of the tribes of Chagnanos,[2] Lups,[3] Chicasas[4] and Charaquis[5] came to this city of San Luis on the fifth of the current month with four large blue and white necklaces, which are the customary symbols of peace among all the Indians. The aforesaid chiefs, to the number of *a hundred and thirty tribes* from among those who live within the territory which is washed on one side by the river Misisipy, and on the other by La Vella Ribera [*La Belle Rivière* — the Ohio] and touches the American states and the two Floridas, eastern and western, on its other boundaries, came to beg the protection of our Catholic sovereign, with the intention, as they assured me, of establishing a firm and sincere peace with the Spaniards. They declared that with this end in view they had journeyed for the space of a year, and in that time they had been among all the tribes mentioned above, uniting them among themselves and separating them completely from the affiliations they had previously had with the English. Having reached a fortunate conclusion of this undertaking, they earnestly desired our

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Conway was his brother-in-law. It has been impossible to ascertain when he died in Spain, but in a letter of Philip Nolan to Gen. Wilkinson, dated 1796, it is said that he was reported dead then.

[2] Shawnees.

[3] Delawares.

[4] Chickasaws.

[5] Cherokees.

friendship and alliance, assuring me that they would give repeated proofs of their good will toward the Spanish.

These four tribes have never before come to this town, except once the Chagnanos, some twelve years ago. The commission which they bore was of importance, and it will be of great value to us to gain their good will, and especially that of the Chicachas and Charaquis, so that our boats which go down from this capital may have free passage in the Misisipy. On these grounds it seemed to me necessary to make them presents and to treat them with distinction. To do this I provided myself with the requisite goods from the merchants of the town, since I was entirely without a supply, as I have informed you in my previous letters.

This is the only news I really have in this country [*pays*], and I report it to you for your information.

God guard you many years. San Luis de Ylinueses; March 19, 1782.

FRAN^{CO} CRUZAT.

Addressed: "Estevan Miro."

THIRD LETTER

Reply of Don Joseph De Galvez — 1782

The King has received with satisfaction your letter of May 14, No. 10, and the contents of the letter enclosed from the lieutenant governor of the settlements of Ylinoeses, Don Fran^{co} Cruzat.

His Majesty, in view of the whole matter, charges you, Sir, to strive by all possible means to establish firmly our friendship with the tribes who have made the convention. To this end, and to bring in the others, you may consult with Colonel Maxant[8] who has sent and taken large supplies of merchandise for presents and trade with the Indians.

God etc. **GALVEZ.**

Sⁿ. Lorenzo, October 29, 1782.

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[8] Gilbert Antoine St. Maxent, partner of Laclede, one of whose daughters married Don Luis Unzaga and another Don Bernardo de Galvez. Miss Elizabeth West, of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, informs us that among the transcripts from the Archives of the Indies recently acquired by the Department of Archives and History of Mississippi, of which Mr. Dunbar Rowland is chief, are a number of documents concerning the operations of Maxent for the Spanish colonial government.

XLIV

ROBBERIES ON THE MISSISSIPPI — MADAME CRUZAT CAPTURED — HER ACCOUNT — 1782

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Letters from the Commandant General of the Army of Operations in America giving information in regard to outrages committed on the Misisipi River by the Chies Indians, the fugitives of Natchez and roving traders, who have remained in the province of Luisiania.

Number 140.

Most excellent Señor:

By the adjoined copies, numbers one and two of the letters which I have received from Don Estevan Miró, your Excellency will learn that the navigation on the Misisipi is interrupted from (the) Arkansas to Ylinoeses, caused by the union of the Chies Indians with the fugitives of Natchez,[1] and the roving traders who have remained after the conquest of the English settlements in those provinces; these have committed the outrages which the above letters set forth, namely: surprising a large barge which was going up to Ylinoeses, and taking prisoner Madame Cruzat, wife of the Commandant of that post, together with the other particulars reduced to writing, and concerning which I have answered Miró as will be seen in number three, this depending, however, on what His Majesty may decide.

Although, from the information that I have from those provinces, I have not considered the movements referred to as of importance, nevertheless I feel myself obliged to inform your Excellency that doubtless the present trouble would not have occurred, if the lack of goods for presents to the Indians had not prevented us from gaining the friendship of the Chies nation, ancient allies of the English, without whose support, the rebellious fugitives of Natchez, with the other insignificant union with rovers or vagrants and who are without place of shelter or refuge anywhere, could not have accomplished anything. Nevertheless, their inconstancy gives me hope, that it may yet be possible to attract them to our friendship and party, destroying in this way the schemes of the rebels, provided that it may please your Excellency to assist the province by some goods for presents.

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[1] Refers to the English or rather settlers from Connecticut, who, under Gen. Lyman, had formed an agricultural settlement near Natchez, and who, after the conquest of Galvez, rebelled and attempted to re-establish English authority, induced to do so by the rumor of the approach of a British fleet, and report of the defeat of Galvez at Pensacola, but who, when they learned that Galvez had taken Pensacola, fled into the wilderness, attempting to reach the English possessions in Georgia. See Pickett's Alabama, vol. ii; Martin's Louisiana, vol. ii, p. 63.

May our Lord keep Your Excellency for many years.

Most excellent Señor, your most attentive servant kisses the hand of your Excellency.

B. DE GALVEZ (rubric).

Guarico,[2] August 5, 1782.

On the Margin:]

Endorsed: Señor Don Josef de Galvez. The Commandant General of the Army of Operations in America gives information of the outrages committed on the Misisipi by the Chies Indians, the fugitives of Natchez and the roving traders who have remained in the provinces of Luisiana with the particulars which the adjoined copies of the letters from that Governor contain.

The king, informed of these matters, approves the response from this General to the Commandant of Luisiana, and authorizes him to provide in whatever way he may see fit for the defense and security of that province; notifying him that by this time, there ought to have come into that province, merchandise for the commerce, and for gifts to Indians, which Colonel Maxent has sent and conveyed on the 3d of October. The king informed of these matters by the copies of the letters of the Governor of Luisiana which your Excellency together with his orders of the fifth of last August, number 140, and being also informed of that which your Excellency replied concerning the points under consideration, His Majesty approved everything and he authorizes your Excellency to give the instructions which you may deem necessary, and to provide in whatever way you may see proper for the defense and security of that province, on the supposition that by this time, the merchandise for commerce and for gifts to Indians, which Colonel Maxent has sent and conveyed must have arrived in that province. Your Excellency is hereby notified by order of the king for your information and guidance. May God, etc., etc.

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[2] Cape Haytian, on the Island of San Domingo, also called Cape François. Galvez was at this time on this island in command of the forces of Spain to make a conquest of the Bahama Islands. On the arrival from Cuba of Don Juan Manuel de Cagigal with three regiments, and a large train of artillery the British Captain-General of these islands, John Maxwell, surrendered them, May 28, 1782.

San Ildefonso, October3, 1782.

SEÑOR DON JOSEF DE GALVEZ.

Copy of Number 1.

Most excellent Señor:

The only news worthy of your attention is that on the 19th of the month before last the rebel Captain of Natchez, who is a fugitive, Juan Toorner,[3] surprised with three of his negroes, and ten Englishmen, rebels from that region, a large barge, which was going to Ylioneses and belonging to Eugenio Purre,[4] called Beaussoleil with the dismissed official Monsieur Belestre[5] besides the crew, from whom they took all the arms without leaving them even a knife, but after reflecting these unfortunate victims of the fury of those barbarians, and moved by their own interests, formed among themselves the heroic resolution to get rid of the enemies, as in fact they succeeded four hours after having been captured, throwing into the water and killing with oars six Englishmen, and two negroes of Tourner; the latter, with the remaining negro, escaped by swimming to one of his pirogues in which he had placed the arms from the large barge, and which were in the custody of four men, all of whom would have doubtlessly perished, but for this. When they recovered possession of the barge they returned to Natchez, from where they again set forth under convoy of other boats that were also going up to Ylioneses.[6]

The Lieutenant Colonel Don Carlos de Grand Pré has sent two parties of Indians to capture or kill these pirates, allowing that humanity and clemency may not diminish in them their feeling.

I shall inform your Excellency of what occurred in the following. May God, etc.

New Orleans, May 4, 1782.

Most excellent Señor, your most attentive servant kisses, etc.

DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ (rubric).

Addressed: Most excellent Señor Don Bernardo de Galvez.

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[3] John Turner?

[4] Pourée dit Beausoliel. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol ii, p. 42.

[5] Picote de Belestre.

[6] This may be the true version of the capture of a vessel belonging to Pourée, detailed in Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 45.

Copy.
Number 2.

Most excellent Señor:

On the 30th of the month before last, Madame Cruzat arrived in this capital as the result of having been captured on the upper part of the river, the navigation of which is interrupted from Akanzas to Ylinoeses. The annexed documents will inform your Excellency of all that has taken place, and letter number 1 from L'Abadie[7] by name, owner of one of the barges captured, will inform you of the intentions of those enemies, who form a party under the orders of Jaime Colbert, who terms himself captain, as you will see by his signatures of numbers two and three; this party is composed of the fugitives of Natchez and of roving traders who have remained among the Indian nations after the conquest of the English settlements in these provinces.

The place where they have committed these hostile acts is in the immediate vicinity of the Chies Nation (a constant friend of the English), although this nation has not taken part in the hostilities, nor has declared itself against us, still it is evident that the deeds are done under its protection. There are two chief reasons for not undertaking an expedition against this party at this time:

Firstly, as this is a band of people without domicile, and as they are more than three hundred leagues distant from this capital, it is almost impossible to attack them, to capture or slay them, as they do not wait for our attack. We can succeed only in driving them away from the place, and allowing that we establish a post or fort there, this would not prevent invasions, or attacks upon the boats that may be going up the river, which they might attack thirty or forty leagues above or below just as they please, since there would be an unoccupied territory from said place to Natchez, more than two hundred leagues, and more than one hundred and fifty leagues from it to Ylinoeses. The forests of the interior of the lands are close by and there they may easily hide themselves.

Secondly, if at the approach of our arms they seek refuge in the villages of the Chies, and these are getting ready to help them, it would be a discredit to our nation not to attack them then and there. Your Excellency knows the small gain and the great loss with which the French have undertaken it twice with about two thousand veteran soldiers and with a few Indians auxiliaries who accompanied them;

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[7] Silvestre Labadie, a trader of St. Louis.

nevertheless, they found it impossible to punish said savage Indians. I am of the opinion that the success will not repay the enormous cost of an expedition commensurate with this purpose, for which I believe necessary 1000 regular soldiers, 400 cazadores [hunters] and as many Indians and numerous trading posts, in addition, building many boats for the transportation of this little army, all the instruments of war, ammunition and provisions, and for the continual sending of goods from the capital, for which trip about two and a half months are necessary.

In view of these reflections, I am persuaded that you will approve my not having undertaken a formal expedition immediately, and I await your orders, begging you that in case you deem it necessary to strike terror in the hearts of the enemy by our arms, and to assure the navigation of the river, that you entrust me with the command, since I feel that the difficulties which I have set forth may cause you to think that I am not disposed to overcome them.

In order to cause the dangerous ideas of the enemy to disappear and in order to protect this province from their violences and to prevent their party from increasing, I have decided to go up to Natchez myself with 200 men, the 150 of the Regiment of Infantry of Navare and the 50 remaining of the Company of Grenadiers of the regiment in my charge.

There I shall attempt to tranquillize those inhabitants with a kind treatment, at the same time this augmentation of troops in that garrison, which consists at the present of 173 men will increase their respect for us. I shall send some Indian chiefs to invite the grand Chief of the Chies to come and give me his hand in order to attract him to our side, and if I am not wholly successful in that, at least to induce him to keep his nation neutral, as I expect to be able to do. This will give me the facility of sending the Akanzas nation together with some volunteers, pioneers, to pursue Coldert if I see that necessity demands it, and according to the promises which the inhabitants of Natchez have made to me, I shall publish a general pardon for the benefit of all the fugitives who will present themselves before me, which will perhaps diminish the numbers of said party quite considerably. For this purpose I should be pleased to be authorized by your Excellency, to act with more liberty in a doubtful case because the dread of not following your ideas might trouble me.

I know that generally in Natchez they are unfriendly to Don Carlos de Grand Pré, and there has probably been some severity in his actions, which I have observed, especially in the case of the Partier, Corradine and Smith whom upon my arrival I found in prison without any cause for suspicions that they had been in communication with the fugitives. I gave to these their liberty, before having heard this news, and they have scarcely been able to reach Natchez by the present day, which I believe will have a good effect. As I received the representatives whom they sent after the revolt, and knowing the friendship with which you have ever honored me, I am informed that they believe that my treatment will be as generous as that which you have given them, and thus I trust that my presence in that district shall cause that none of them will again join the enemy, and influence many to come to ask for the pardon: I shall also try to give aid to Akanzas, although I have a firm belief that they will have repulsed the enemy, because the three boats which were going to Ylinoeses, and the crews of which were composed of about ninety men, when they came upon Madame Cruzat, returned to said post and remained there by the opportune resolution of Don Luis Villars, Lieutenant of the Regiment in my charge, who was on his way to the garrison of the Ylinoeses, and he made this resolution because the Commandant Don Baltazar de Villars was on the threshold of death, in order to take the command in case of his death to defend it, since he expected an attack upon it, according to the information of said lady and of L'Abadie. The latter is going from Akanzas overland to Ylinoeses to inform that commander of what has happened which it behooves that he knows, and I also shall give the information from Natchez.

I hope that your Excellency will approve my determination referred to above, it being my opinion that it is the best thing I can do under the present circumstances.

I have some doubt as to how I ought to consider the case of Jaime Colbert, he has never been a prisoner, he was defending Mobile and Pensacola, but always retired at the time when these cities surrendered, his patent of Captain, if he has one, must be regularly from General Campbell, and although I do not at this time believe it to be authorized by the Court of Great Britain, it is proper, if a dispute should arise in regard to this, that I should suppose that he was such from the very beginning; nevertheless, by the reply which I intend to make to his letter No. 2, I shall reject his proposition; on the charge that he has placed himself at the head of rebels, who are not allowed, according to the law of Nations, to make war against us, by being bound under an oath of fidelity, making himself in this way an accomplice in their crimes. Will your Excellency kindly give me your opinion in this matter. The woman, who presents a petition in number 3, and who is already old, is in this city as a prisoner, because Grand-Pré has sent her here because she gave protection to the fugitives. I shall take her with me, to give her her liberty as a reward, and for the good treatment which Madame Cruzat and her sons have been given. With her will go my answer, a copy of which I am addressing to your Excellency.

The extensive territory which your Excellency's conquests have added on the left bank of this river, to the dominion of His Majesty demands a certain location of posts and forts that they may protect the navigation on that river. It seems to me that at least two are necessary between Ylinoeses and Natchez, one in the ravines of Margot [Barrancas à Margot], where the fugitives have struck their blow, and the other at the most advantageous place between them and Natchez, and then we could abandon those of Arcanzas, Baton Rouge, and Manchak, the first because it is situated on the right bank of the river 10 or 12 leagues inland where the present Commandant had been obliged to move it three years ago, because on the bank of the Mississippi it was inundated at the time of the overflows, for this reason it gives very little or no protection, and the other two, because the purposes for which the English constructed them no longer exist, which were, the proximity to, and as a guard against Spanish Manchak; besides since they are protected on the rear by Galveztown.

After the construction of these two forts the object of the expedition may be reduced to the driving out of the malefactors. Your Excellency will see if this project merits your attention, or that of the Court, if so, you will give the orders as you see fit. I shall however add that in my oipinion, for the safety of these two forts it will suffice if the stakes thereof are bullet-proof, like the fort at Manchak, several Isleñas families who are about to come could settle there, as could also the Americans who present themselves; your Excellency knows better than I how advantageous it would be to populate the upper part of the river, and consequently I shall avoid giving any other reasons for the practicability of this proposition.

It will be necessary to make up a convoy for Ylinoeses in case we are not able to rid ourselves of the aforesaid enemies, but how, I am unable at present to decide, because I do not know what the proprietors of the three boats have decided to do, who have remained in

Akanzas, also because I ought to be better informed and assured that the Chies Indians are not unfriendly or against the plan. It will be impossible to do this this year, because after August, we cannot proceed until next spring on account of the ice. This granted and also that I am able to receive your orders, I shall wait until you authorize me to do so with regard to the expense which will be caused by the transportation of the troops, with one or two boats mounted with cannons, and with the necessary number of Indians, some to go on (the) water by canoes, and others on land to protect them, and to act as scouts, nevertheless I shall propose to the proprietors of the boats that they bear a part of the expenses, it being to their advantage to satisfy the Indians, although it will always be necessary to give them presents from the Government.

That Commandant [of the Illinois] will find himself very much embarrassed, on account of the lack of the useful things which were in the captured boat, goods for the Indians as well as clothes for the troops and 4,500 pesos for the maintenance of that garrison, reasons why I urge in the highest degree that this be repeated [re-supplied] in the coming spring, facilitating by this means the commerce in peltry which as you know is one of the principal sources of income, and upon which the prosperity of these provinces depends.

By the declaration No. 6 you will be informed under what circumstances twelve American families have arrived at Natchez; which individuals I have demanded to take the oath of fidelity, and on my arrival there I shall inform myself better of all the circumstances. I also ask you to give me your orders in regard to this case and in the case that they should present themselves in large numbers, as the witness who makes this declaration states.

In all my resolutions I am in accord with this management, which with its accustomed zeal and activity comes to my aid, and it is at present busy preparing all that is necessary for my voyage which I shall undertake, setting out as soon as the careening of the Talna is finished, which will be within six days.

May God preserve you many years.

New Orleans, June 5, 1782: Most excellent sir your humble servant kisses, et cetera. ESTEBAN MIRO (rubric).

Addressed: Most excellent Señor Don Bernardo de Galbez.

Translation number 2.

Chikachas, May 15, 1782.

Señor: There shall be delivered to your Lordship Silbestre L' Abadie with nine other prisoners whom I put into your hands judging that they prefer this to being taken among the Indians where I should not be able to treat them with the tenderness and humanity which I [might] desire, hoping nevertheless that your Lordship will cause the liberation of the individuals whose names appear on the inclosed list. I hope that your Lordship will have no difficulty, nor delay this matter inasmuch as the fate and destiny of the rest of the prisoners will depend on this proceeding. I intend to keep those in the Chikachas Nation until Mr. Blommart and the other English prisoner arrive in said nation. I have estimated the boat at 100 pesos for which sum I have taken a promising note from Madame Cruzat, and no doubt your Lordship will cause it to be paid into the hands of Monsieur Brommart[8] for me when he comes to the Chikachas, this being the means by which the others in the future will obtain the same convenience.

I hope that your Lordship will excuse me for mentioning an act which happens frequently in western Florida and especially in la Movila, and that is to offer liberal rewards to the Indians for the heads of individuals who are found among them. I cannot keep from expressing how much I am surprised to see that a nation who boasts so much of its honor and humanity continues a practice so directly contrary to both, and I am at once disposed to believe that this happens with [out] the knowledge of your Lordship and that you should immediately put an end to such proceedings, not because I fear some danger for myself, but because such a mode of operation will furnish means so that those subjects will fare badly. I flatter myself that Madame Cruzat and two of my prisoners will do me the justice of saying that they have been treated with all the courtesy and kindness that circumstances would permit. I have the honor of being, sir, your most obedient and humble servant.

Jaime Colbert, Capitan.

Addressed: Don B. de Galvez.

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[8] Jacob Blomart, who was said to have been the "chief of the rebels" at Natchez against the Spaniards.

Translations Nos. 3 and 4.

To the most excellent Señor Commandant in Chief of New Orleans and Governor of Luisiana, etc., etc.

Señor: Madame Tudah Holsten having been taken prisoner and sent to New Orleans, where according to all probabilities she remains in that condition, I should be pleased to have her exchanged for five men whom I hold as prisoners in this nation, as soon as possible. If not, I shall deliver the five men to the Indians.

I am the humble servant of your Excellency

JAIME COLBERT, CAPITAN.

Addressed: Don Bernardo de Galvez.

Translation number 5.

Word of Honor]

Chickesaw-Bluffs, May 15, 1782.

We, the undersigned, prisoners of war of His Britannic's Majesty, captured by Captain Jaime Colbert obligate ourselves upon our word of honor (understanding by it all that is regarded as good and sacred among men) to remain and to consider ourselves as prisoners of war and to present ourselves in whatever of the dominions of His Britannic Majesty, to which we might be called, unless our exchange for the below mentioned be made. It is understood that by this obligation we bind not only ourselves but also the Spanish nation of which we are subjects. JUAN BLAOUMART, JUAN ALSTON, JOSEF HOLMES, JACOBO WINFREE, JUAN TOURNER, JUAN GREEN, GUILLERMO EASSON, PARKER CARUDINE, JOHN SMITH.

Endorsed: GALVEZ (rubric).

Translations number F.]

Chikachas Bluffs, May 11, 1782.

Dear Parents: I take advantage of this opportunity to write to you informing you of our health, this being the first letter since we left you: All of us have arrived safe and sound in the Nation of the Chikachas, and we live together with Thomas Holmes and his wife. My great sorrow at present is the great distance between us, still I am hopeful that before very long we shall see the day on which we may enjoy the occasion of being together again. I inform you that we are here, struggling the best we can, and we expect a change shortly. I hope that you and my friends will excuse me for being in such haste. I am respectfully your most obedient son, obedient unto death. JUAN HOLSTEN, ESTEBAN HOLSTEN, and JUDITH, his wife. Endorsed: GALVEZ (rubric).

Copy No. 8.

In the city of New Orleans, May 30, 1782 Señor Don Estevan Miró, Colonel of the Regiment of Infantry of Luisiana, Commandant in charge of the political and military Government of this province by order of the most excellent Señor D. Bernardo de Galbez, Lieutenant General of the Royal Armies, Governor and Captain General of these provinces, etc., etc. Being verbally informed by Doña Anicanora Ramos, wife of Lieutenant Colonel Don Francisco Cruzat, Governor of the western posts of Ylinoeses, of the attack and surprise of the boat belonging to Don Silbestre L'Abadie in which the said lady was making a voyage, he declared that in order to get all the facts which might be advantageous for the best and quickest service of His Majesty, it was behooving that said lady should declare before him and before the undersigned Secretary of the government, what happened, that she should answer the questions which he might ask for that purpose and confining them to the matter in hand; he asked the above-mentioned lady, who on her word of honor promised to speak the truth in answer to all questions that were asked; at what time she had arrived at the dike [levee] of this city and whence she came.

She replies that she arrived in this city about two o'clock in the morning after being eight days on the water, coming from five leagues up the river de Margot, which empties into the Barrancas de Margot, where she had been held a prisoner by a party of English.

She was asked who was the captain of the party. She replies that the named Jayme Colbert, an Englishman living in the Chikachas Nation was the captain.

She was asked if said Colbert held any position, commission, or office from His Britannic Majesty.

She answers that she has heard at various times that said Colbert was called Captain in the service of said Majesty.

She was asked on what day the boat was captured.

She replies that it was on the 2d inst. at 11 o'clock in the morning at the place described of the Barrancas á Margot.

She was asked to relate how it happened.

She replied that as they were passing said place they were hailed in the French language by a man, Thomas by name, a fugitive from the posts of Ylinoeses, who was in the boat moored on the west bank of the river, and he asked them if that was the boat of Monsieur L'Abadie, and having received an answer in the affirmative, he said that he had some letters from Don Francisco Cruzat for his wife, and believing in this deceitful pretext, said L'Abadie ordered the boat to be tied up in order to secure the letters to satisfy the lady; as soon as they were near the said boat, Thomas fastened a rope to that of M. L'Abadie, and demanded all of them to surrender themselves as prisoners of the King of Great Britain, at the same time, there came rushing out from the bushes and woods about forty Englishmen and one Mestizo, and four of them surrounding the proprietor, the rest of them took possession of the boat, tying the passengers and employees, or rowers.

She was asked how the English presented themselves, and with what arms.

She says that all were armed with a carbine and some with two, and that they had besides their club, knife, and dagger.

She was asked whither they were taken afterward. She answers that while they were tying the crew, there appeared at the mouth of the river of said Barrancas on the east, the captain of the party, Jayme Colbert, with four white men and an Indian and calming the prisoner, making this declaration, as soon as he arrived; he said to her, to be calm, that he would respect her person and her sons; that they should not receive the slightest offense, and that he would have her conducted in safety to the post of Ylinoeses, where the commandant, her husband, was, and without losing any time, he gave orders to bring the boat to that side; this was done, and they entered the said river de Margot.

She was asked if, on coming into this river, she noticed any English on the banks.

She said that there were some there.

Asked if she knew how many.

Answered that the confusion and the excitement prevented her from observing how many there were, and that she only remembers that many came down the sloping ground, and frequently.

Asked if the boat went far up the river.

Answered something like a quarter of a league.

Asked what they did as soon as they landed.

Answered — that Captain Colbert made the oarsmen disembark with the patron and these were led to a kind of prison, situated on the declivity of the Barrancas, at the right hand of the river which empties through them into the Mississippi.

Asked how said prison was built?

Answered that it was made of trees placed one upon the other after the limbs had been cut off, that perhaps the prison is of two stories, covered with bark of trees, with no other opening except a kind of wicket, which is closed with a board, and then a log, and that it has no more light except what comes through a breathing-hole in the top.

Asked if she observed near this prison any other building or hut.

Replied that there was one large one and two small ones.

Asked if the enemies were encamped in tents or huts.

Replied that according to what she learned from the crew of the other boat that was captured by the enemy, these were encamped on the west side of this river, at the place from which they were hailed at the time of their capture.

Asked if she knew the number of huts, and how they were built.

Replied that she had been informed various times that there were about eighteen, and that they were built of bark and covered with skins or oilcloth or oilskins.

Asked what boat it was which she said was captured, and if she knew to whom it belonged.

She said that it was a boat coming from Ylinoeses, loaded with Indian corn and flour, destined for this capital, and belonged to a Lafont[9] by name, nephew of Monsieur Boure.[10]

Asked if it was long ago that the enemy had captured this boat.

Replied that as she could remember it must have been about eight days ago.

Asked what kind of a crew the boat had, and if all were prisoners.

Replied that the crew was composed of ten men, all of whom were prisoners, with the exception of an American who joined the party of the enemy.

Asked if she knew of any other boat, barge, or pirogue that the enemy brought there which they had captured, and where.

She replied that she had learned that they had captured a boat belonging to Monsieur Villers,[11] commander of Arcanzas, in which there were a few soldiers, and they had captured from the baker of that post on the San Francisco[12] a pirogue which was going down the river on a hunting trip, from the American posts of Ylinoeses, at the foot of said Barrancas de Margot, the proprietor of which Thomas Prince was the person who hailed us, and he, by the false pretext mentioned above, caused the loss of the boat in which the declarer was making her voyage, having joined the enemy; that these likewise captured an American huckster with a load of flour, on the island or river of the Chicachas, all of these things happening within a short space of time from each other.

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[9] Perhaps a member of the Kaskaskia family of that name.

[10] Louis Bouré dit Grand Louis (?).

Asked if the enemy had any information of the coming of the boat.

Replied that they evidently did, and that they not only had news of this boat but also of those of Don Francisco Vallé, of Don Eugenio Pourée, of Dubbruiel, of Menard, of Madame Villers,[13] and of the quairo of Albarez, with extensive information of the goods and money which were carried in these boats, the kings as well as the private individuals, and even the approximate date of their arrival.

Asked if she had been able to find out, by whom and how Colbert, and his party received this information, if from the capital or from Natchez.

She replied that according to the information she had from a Frenchman named Francisco la Grange they received news from the post at Natchez in six days and that messengers or postmen came from that place nearly every day, and they received the information of the going up of the boat by a letter sent by some inhabitant of this capital.

Asked how far the Barrancas de Margot were from the post of Arcanzas.

Replied that according to what she had heard the distance was from seventy to eighty leagues, and from the capital more than three hundred leagues.

Asked if she had been enclosed with the other prisoners, if they treated her with some distinction, if they insulted or threatened her.

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[11] Don Balthasar de Villars.

[12] St. François River.

[13] Marie Louise Villars (?) of Ste. Genevieve.

Answered that after having sent the rowers and the patron to the prison, as she had said, they made her embark in a pirogue, with her four sons and four slaves, accompanied by the proprietor of the boat, Monsieur L'Abadie and three Englishmen and through a deep creek they conducted her near the prison where the rowers were, to a hut which served as a habitation of Captain Colbert and to that of Francisco la Grange and to arrive at this place it took about a half hour.

Asked what number of Indians there were in that encampment at that time.

Answered two Chicachas.

Asked if the enemy had any guard-room, fort or entrenchment.

Answered that she had never seen more than four sentinels, who were around that kind of hut which served as a prison, and another sentinel posted at the door of the cabin where the declarer and the proprietor L'Abadie were detained.

Asked if the enemy had any occupation.

Replied no, that each one, walked about and rested as they pleased, delivered himself to drunkenness, and went hunting, nevertheless it seemed to her that they did not go far away from the encampment, and that they undoubtedly had spies on the river, as she discovered on the 3d of May when an alarm disturbed the camp.

Asked what the alarm was.

Answered that as she found out afterward the alarm arose from the fact that some American pirogues or boats were coming down the river and Colbert suspected them of being enemies.

Asked what Captain Colbert did on account of this alarm.

Answered that he came immediately to his cabin, and gave the orders that the proprietor L'Abadie and the proprietor Tropé[14] should be taken with the rest of the prisoners; they left said lady all alone telling her to keep her sons quiet; in a short time said captain returned hastily to said lady, to put said lady with her children in safety on the boat; she explained to him the difficulties that would confront her by being alone and without any knowledge of the region, that he should give her the proprietor and the patron, to which he submitted, taking them from the prison, and in the company of these they went on foot through a thick wood of sassafras, and they arrived at the place where the boat was moored at about 1 o'clock, having passed over a rivulet and two creeks.

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[14] Lived at Ste. Genevieve.

Asked at what time the alarm was given.

Answered at nine o'clock in the morning.

Asked to what number the party of rebels amounted.

She said according to what she had heard various times the enemy must have numbered about three hundred whites and they were divided into two encampments.

Asked concerning the place where the encampments were located.

She replied that the first was located in the said two Barrancas de Margot, and the second in those called Dumilien, ten leagues above the said encampment of Margot.

Asked if there were any Indians with them, if so of what nation they were.

Answered that she had already stated that there were only two, but that eight or nine days after the capture of the boat there appeared two hundred Chicachas more or less.

Asked if those Chicachas were allies of the English party.

She answered that although these Indians have done nothing offensive to the declarer or any of the other prisoners, still they must be friends of the English since the rebels live among them; that one of the chiefs is the son of the captain who captured her, Jayme Colbert; and that besides, the powder, bullets, and brandy were not distributed until said Indians arrived, who cannot be very far distant from that place.

Asked if she knew how far from there were their villages.

Replied that she had frequently heard it said that it required eight days, but she knows with certainty that a merchant named Monsieur Gillibray,[15] who had a letter for the English inhabitant of Baton Rouge, David Ross, and that he arrived at said Barrancas de Margot the 15th of this month, having set out from the Chicachas Nation on the 10th inst., coming previously from Savannah, Georgia.

Asked if from this last-mentioned place English come to augment the number of rebels.

She replied that she had also heard it said that every day they come from Georgia, Carolina, and Otchio quite regularly, and that they even await the Lieutenant Colonel Hutchins[16] who ought to arrive from Carolina or from Georgia, with two regiments to undertake the conquest of Ylinoeses, Alcanzas (Arkansas?), Natchez, and even the capital.

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[15] The celebrated Alexander McGillivray, a half-breed, chief of the Talapouches, a man of education, "possessed the combined qualities of the wild Indian and educated white man," by turns courted by the English, Spaniards, and Americans. He died Feb. 17, 1793.

Asked if Lieutenant [Colonel] Hutchins is the fugitive from Natchez.

Replied that he is the same.

Asked what the enemy did after the mentioned alarm of the third day of May when they made the declarer seek safety by leaving the encampment.

Replied that at three in the afternoon of the same day, Captain Colbert returned with the news which she had partly stated that the change arose from the fact that some American boats were going down the river in peace (so it seems) as they left a white banner on the captured boat of Lafont, yet they took the prisoners on a hill which slopes to the same river of Margot so far inland that it required all that day and part of the night to arrive there; Colbert with eight or nine English spent the night, some on the boat and some camped on land, watching over the declarer, L'Abadie, and the above-named Tropé.

Asked what they did with the crew or rowers.

Answered that on the following day they were made to return to the boat, and they went up the river about four leagues, and it took a day and a half to make this voyage on account of the rapidity of the current, which was very strong on account of the narrowness and slope of the river, and on account of the trees that were in that river.

Asked what they did afterward.

Answered that when they arrived at the foot of a hillock of considerable height, they landed, and they built some poor huts to pass the night within them; that on the following day, if she remembers correctly it was the seventh, they built a prison something like the first, and they commenced to unload the boat, the contents of which they put on the ground in the open, with the exception of the powder which they covered with oilcloths or oilskins, and when this work was finished, which lasted four days, during which they were continually drunk, it may be said, all giving repeated proofs of insubordination, then the distribution of everything except the powder, bullets, and brandy took place.

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[16] Col. Anthony Hutchins, a tory leader of the insurrection against the Spaniards at Natchez.

Asked if she knew in what way this distribution was made.

Replied that they began by distributing about six thousand pesos, belonging to the king, and private individuals of the boat.

Asked if she knew how much each one received.

Answered no.

Asked how they divided the other effects.

Answered that the tableware of silver and the slaves were put up at auction and sold to the highest bidders. That the clothes, guns, and other merchandise were evenly distributed, and then about eight or nine days afterwards, as she said above, the above-mentioned Chicachas Indians appeared, and they divided among all, including the Indians, the brandy and powder which had been reserved.

Asked what were the intentions of the enemy in regard to the prisoners.

Answered that in spite of the promise of Captain Colbert to send the lady who makes this declaration to Ylinoeses, yet the principal intentions of that party were to send all of them to the Nation Chicachas, until this Government delivers Blommar, Alston, and the other rebels of Natchez, who are found in the prison of this city.

Asked how they came to decide to send her to this city.

Replied that was due greatly to the Chicachas Chief, the son of Captain Colbert,[17] who always kept the promises of this father, and he advised her, she declared, to prefer to come to this city, on account of the many dangers and risks to which she would expose herself if she went up the river to the posts of Ylinoeses.

Asked at what they were engaged, the English, during the nineteen days that she was kept a prisoner among them, after the distribution had taken place, as she explained above.

Replied that they held frequent meetings on board the boat, or in the hut of the captain, from which meetings there resulted many orders, and injudicious and opposing decisions, which most of the time were not executed, by the unheard-of insubordination of the individuals who made up the party, and that said Colbert was often disgusted at this, having said various times (she did not know if he was sincere) if he was not afraid that something might happen to her and her family, he would leave such disobedient people.

Asked how it came about that they provided her with the boat in which she came down the river, and if it was the same one they had captured.

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[17] His name was William Colbert. During the Revolutionary war he aided the Americans. He was the great war-chief of the Chickasaws.

She answered that after several entreaties and discussions, they were induced to ransom her, the declarer, and L'Abadie for the sum of four hundred pesos, which should be paid to Blommer, if perhaps he should come up to the Nation Chicachas exchanged, as Captain Colbert suggests.

Asked if the enemy intended to remain in that place.

Answered that they were to return immediately to said Barrancas of Margot, sending the goods and prisoners to the nation, with the said Chicacha Indians.

Asked what boats she had met on the way to this city, after having come out from the river de Margot.

She replied that on the day after her departure from there she met about twenty leagues farther down the river the boats of Don Francisco Vallé and of Eugenio Pourré, with the guairo of Albarez; that in spite of her promise not to do so, she informed these what had happened, on account of which they turned back and entered the river of Arcanzas; the declarer proceeded on her voyage to this city accompanied by the wife of Lieutenant Don Louis Villars, who remained to aid said post of Arcanzas, in case of attack.

Asked if she knew how long the enemy had been at that place.

She answered according to what she had learned they had been there three months.

Asked if she had heard it said that some boat or pirogue passed that place which was able to have seen the enemy, and consequently to inform others of the risk to which one might be exposed.

She replied that the enemies themselves had told her that a short time before her arrival at the encampment of the Barrancas of Margot, an American boat passed in which the captain of the militia, Don Josef Meson came, against whom she has a complaint to make to his Lordship.

Asked what were the complaints she had to make against that subject.

She answered that he, knowing the design and intentions of the enemy, since he ate and drank with them, betrayed the interests of the nation, and exposed the declarer and other prisoners to the risk of harm that they have suffered, because he preferred to keep his word of honor not to say anything which he gave to the enemy, to the good that might have resulted to the whole province, if he had disclosed, as he ought to have done, what was going on.

Asked what were the designs of the party of Captain Colbert.

Answered that five days after the departure of the boat, they were to attack the post of Arcanzas, with the intention of surprising that of Santa Genoveva, which is thirty leagues distant from San Luis de Ylinoeses.

Asked if she had learned of what people this party was composed.

She answered that most of them were rebels of Natchez, stirred up by a person named Bethun, commissary of the Nation Chicachas, who married in it with a daughter of Madame Truley, inhabitant of the post of Natchez, who is in this city.

Asked what motives they give for committing such extortions and piracies on the river.

She replied that publicly they protest against the vexations which they were subjected to by the commandant of Arcanzas, Don Baltasar de Villers and by the Commander of Natchez, Don Carlos de Grand Pré, by the former, because when the inhabitants of his district present themselves with a deer, in the hunt for which they have given their sweat and labor, he exacts from them the skin, saying that it is his by right, and if he furnishes them with goods, he places the merchandise at such an exorbitant price that in place of making a living, they see themselves in the impossibility of paying for the stock; these are the grievances which oblige them to decide to abandon themselves to this kind of living; and by the latter because under the pretext of confiscating the goods of those who took possession of the first boat during the rebellion of Natchez until the value of the goods confiscated was equal to that which they captured at that time, he has already confiscated more than twenty boats are worth, and that his conduct is neither benevolent nor kind.

Asked what number of Spanish and French prisoners there were among the English of Colbert's party.

She answered that there were thirty; five soldiers of the regiment of infantry of this town were among these.

Asked if she had been able to find out what the intentions of the enemy were in regard to these prisoners.

She replied that their intentions were to take them to the Nation Chicachas, where they were to remain until they were exchanged for the English rebels of Natchez, who are held prisoners here, and that is all she has to declare concerning the affair of the boat, and she signed it with his Lordship before me, the undersigned provisional Secretary of this Government and Captain General.

DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ, NICANORA RAMOS,[18] ANDRES LOPEZ DE ARMESTO.

Immediately his Lordship ordered to appear before him the mentioned Tropé, patron of the boat of Don Silvestre L'Abadie, in which Madame Cruzat has just made her voyage, and having taken the customary oath before the undersigned secretary of the government, under whose charge he promised to speak the truth, and having read the preceding declaration of said Madame Cruzat through an interpreter Don Juan Josef Duforet and Don Luis Liateau, official clerk of the government, he was asked if he had anything to add to the declaration, or to correct something in it.

He replied that some are of the opinion that from the Barrancas de Margot to the villages of the Chicachas, eight days are necessary, but really it is only thirty leagues over poor roads, which can be traveled over in two days when without a load and 3 days with a load; that that is all he has to add to the declaration of Madame Cruzat; that all of it is true, that he is twenty seven years old; and he signed it with His Lordship and the said interpreters before me, the undersigned provisional secretary of the government and Captain General.

DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ, TROPÉ, JOSEF DUFORET, LUIS LIATEAU
Before me, Andres Lopez de Armesto.
Enclosed: GALVEZ (rubric).

Copy. Most excellent Sir:

I believe it my duty to inform your Excellency of the important events in this province, and as I do not pretend to receive my orders directly from His Majesty but through your Excellency, which orders I await from the most excellent Señor Don Bernardo de Galvez, my Captain General, who is authorized to give them, I beseech your Excellency that I may receive them on account of the adjoined copies from my office and the documents which accompany them and which I on this day direct to my said Captain General, by which your Excellency will learn of my intention to go up the river to Natchez with two hundred men to protect the richest possessions of this province, and to try to drive away that harmful party of English, which has united on the upper part of the river as the mentioned documents will show: all that I expect is the approval of your Excellency, and of that of Your Majesty in case Your Excellency deems this matter worthy of the royal attention. May God preserve you many years. New Orleans, June 5, 1782. Most excellent Señor, Your most humble servant kisses, etc.

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[18] Madame Cruzat died in St. Louis, April 15, 1786, and was buried in the church of St. Louis under the first bench of the main aisle, against the balustrade alongside of the evangile.

ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

Addressed: Most excellent Señor Don Josef de Galvez.

Copy.
Number 3.]

I have received the letter of your Lordship of the 5th inst., with all the copies and documents which explain and set forth the occurrence of the third of May to Madame Cruzat, who was captured on the upper part of the river, by the fugitives of Natchez and the wandering traders who have remained from the English settlements which we conquered, in these provinces, and whose captain is Jayme Colbert; I feel as I should this uneasiness, and I shall try, as much as I can in the present circumstances, to coöperate with you in an effort to tranquillize the province.

The reasons which you give me for not undertaking at this time an expedition agains the Chies Nation seem to me well founded, a nation, constant friend of our enemies, and a protector of these; and I approve likewise of the plan of conducting personally a detachment of troops to Natchez in order to check the dangerous plans of the enemy, although we cannot hide our movement from the enemies, it shall have an effect on those who think well of their security.

The decision of Lieutenant D. Luis Villars has also seemed to me well founded when he decided to remain in Arcanzas on account of the Commandant of that post, Don Baltasar de Villiers being near death, and [so] that he could have taken, in case of the latter's death, the command to defend it against the attacks that threatened the post.

Your Lordship ought, by no means, consider Jayme Colbert, as

Captain. I approve heartily the response which you intend to give him although it behooves to use cunning expressions, and although I appreciate the kind treatment which he has accorded to Madame Cruzat, it will be repaid with the liberty of the lady[19] who makes a petition in number three. You must, however, use this precaution, that this mercy does not extend itself to relatives or friends of the rebels, in order that we may always have the means on hand for threats and reprisals, if they treat badly those whom they may have in their power; the proposition to return Blommar and the rest is entirely out of season; above all it is necessary that now more than ever before your Lordship will take special care so that none may escape, and if it is necessary you may decide to send them to Havana or Vera Cruz, when an occasion presents itself, with no danger that they may secure their liberty in this way.

The establishment, which you propose, of the two forts, one as the Barrancas de Margot, and the other at the most advantageout place between the Ylinoeses and Natchez, I consider quite favorable, and I shall inform the Court of the plan in order that it may be approved by it, but without dismantling the forts at Manchac and Baton Rouge, which ought to be preserved and especially the second, since they are the greatest protection that can be given to the colony, not only from the attacks coming from above, but also from those that may be made from the Basila, and to maintain a place of refuge for defense or capitulation, a recourse not available in the others built of stakes and wood. The erection of said forts will also be useful for the settling of families, who ought to be Spanish or French, without admitting American families, since these are the cause of the disorders, for which reason Americans ought not to be admitted, unless there are very few, and the conduct of those that are there must be carefully observed, and distrusting the conduct of the twelve families of that nation who have settled lately.

If your Lordship considers the convoy for Ylinoeses necessary, you may form it at the time and in the way you propose, and I am sorry that the Commandant of Ylinoeses is in need on account of the assistance having been intercepted.

In proportion as I am disgusted by the numerous revolts in these provinces, to which I devote all my attention, I content myself with the constant zeal of your Lordship, and the interest you take in these matters, and in all matters for the serviec of the king, of which you have so frequently given proof and I shall use all means possible which may tend to the conservation and restoration of tranquillity to the inhabitiants, and of the authority of the sovereign.

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[19] Mrs. Holston, *ante*, p. 220.

May God preserve you many years, etc.

Guarico, July 21, 1782.

BERNARDO DE GALVEZ.

Addressed: Señor Don Estevan Miró.

XLV

REPORT OF GOV. MIRÓ TO CONDE DE GALVEZ OF THE GREAT OVERFLOW OF THE MISSISSIPPI IN 1885 IN UPPER LOUISIANA

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

No. 209.

YOUR EXCELLENCY:

With the date of June 6 last, the Lieutenant-Governor of the posts of Ylinoa, Don Francisco Cruzat, writes me:

"I am very sorry to have to tell Your Lordship on all occasions of the sad and unhappy situation in which this country has been because of the bad weather which has been experienced for five years past, and, especially, during the present season, because of the so strong freshets which we have experienced this spring from the waters of the Misisipi. The waters have risen so greatly from their source that they have entirely submerged the village of Santa Genoveva. All its inhabitants having been obliged to retire with great haste to the mountains which are one league away from the said village. They abandoned their houses which were inundated, and their furniture and other possessions which they had in them. Although the waters have now fallen, those inhabitants remain along the said coast without yet knowing the place where they can settle, so that they may be sheltered from such accidents, and consequently a place where they can make their fields with some security, for the fields of wheat which they have planted this year have been completely lost, as all the lands have been submerged.

"The commandant of that village, Don Antonio de Oro,[1] was in like need of retiring with all his troops to the abovesaid mountains, where he has remained until the waters have lowered, but has now again retired to the house which the commandants of that village have always occupied. That house belongs to Don Juan Bautista Vallee and is the house which has suffered least. He keeps the troops of that detachment in it as well.

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[1] Sometimes the name of Cartabona is given as "Cartabona de Oro."

"All the posts of the American district have suffered the same disaster and are in the same affliction as those of Santa Genoveva especially the village of O'Kao[2] which is the nearest one to this village of San Luis. I gave those habitants all the help which was possible for me so that they might be able to escape with their lives and save their property, by furnishing to them all the pirogues which I had in this village. For this reason, the greater part of the families came to take refuge in this district. They are undecided and do not know what resolution they shall take in regard to settlement. The fact is that many of them have asked me whether I would give them land, and I have answered them that I would as soon as they determined to come here, as already four of the best habitants have done, who have had all their furniture, foods, and animals moved over and are beginning to plant their cornfields, because it is very late for wheat this year. The inundation has been so extraordinary, that the oldest persons of these settlements have assured me that they have never seen another one like it." I inform Your Excellency thereof so that you may have full notice of what happens in the province. May God our Lord preserve Your Excellency for many years. Nueva Orleans, July 10, 1785. Your Excellency, your most humble servant kisses Your Excellency's hands.

ESTEVAN MIRÓ (rubric).

Addressed: "His Excellency Conde de Galvez."

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[2] Kaskaskia.

XLVI

NAVIGATION OF THE MISSISSIPPI NOT FREE[1] — 1784.

General Archives of the Indies — Seville—Documents from the Island of Cuba.

It is the will of the King that during the period in which the bounds of this province and those of both Floridas with the American colonies are being regulated and determined Your Lordship shall cause to be published and proclaimed to all the inhabitants of that district that the English and the United States of America have not the rights which they put forward to the free navigation of the Misisipi; since the treaty of November 30, 1782, upon which they found their claim, could not fix limits over that which England did not possess, the territory in question being already conquered and occupied by our arms on both banks of the said river at that period. I notify Your Lordship of the ordinance of His Majesty that it may be carried out, and with the purpose that the subjects of this captaincy general, being informed of this declaration, may not expose themselves to legal actions and confiscations taken upon their commercial effects.

God preserve Your Lordship many years.

Aranjuez, June 26, 1784. GALVEZ.

To the Governor *ad interim* of Louisiana.

[1] The question of the navigation of the Mississippi was one of the most vital between the Spain colony and the United States. See Gayarre's History of Louisiana, vol. ii, Spanish Domination, p. 195 *et seq*, and other writers on the history of the Mississippi Valley.

XLVII

INSTRUCTIONS TO PEYROUX, COMMANDANT OF THE POST OF STE. GENEVIEVE, AND DEFINING HIS POWERS AND JURISDICTION — 1787.

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Instructions to be observed by the commandant of Santa Genoveva, Don Enrique Peyroux de la Condroinese,[1] Captain of the royal armies.

Inasmuch as he is under the orders of the Lieutenant-Governor, Commandant of the western posts of Ylinoa, he shall observe the orders that the latter gives him. He shall decide all matters that arise up to the sum of fifty pesos. But above this sum he shall appeal to the Lieutenant-Governor of Ylinoa, as in all other matters concerning inventories and finances because of the death of any of those habitants. However, in such cases, he will take judicial action in the presence of two witnesses, until the cause has been placed in a condition ready for the sentence which must necessarily be pronounced by the Lieutenant-Governor, whom he shall inform of all the other records of appraisal, inventory, finances, and auction, as such are the perquisites of the petty jurisdiction which he [*i.e.* Peyroux] exercises.

He shall have authority to issue passports, allowing one to descend the river, and go to other districts, but not trading permits which are the perquisites of that Lieutenant-Governor.

Whenever he despatches any lancha[2] or canoe to the capital [*i.e.*, Nueva Orleans], he shall give previous advice to that Lieutenant-Governor, so that the latter may communicate what news he has with this government.

He shall be on the lookout for all sorts of information and advices which he may obtain in regard to the movements of the United States and shall give immediate information to that

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[1] Henri Peyroux de la Coudreniere. For particulars as to him, see Houck's History of Missouri, vol. i, p. 347.

[2] *Lancha:* a kind of boat.

Lieutenant-Governor and to this government, whenever a suitable opportunity offers.

The tranquillity of the Indians, the increase of population, and agriculture are questions that must merit at all times his greatest care and watchfulness, and in order that he may promote it, he shall recommend to me on opportune occasions, the means which he considers most useful. Henceforth I authorize him to receive in that post those Catholics who may present themselves, but he shall, however, advise the Lieutenant-Governor and this government in the proper manner.

Nueva Orleans, April 20, 1787.

Estevan Miro (rubric).

XLVIII

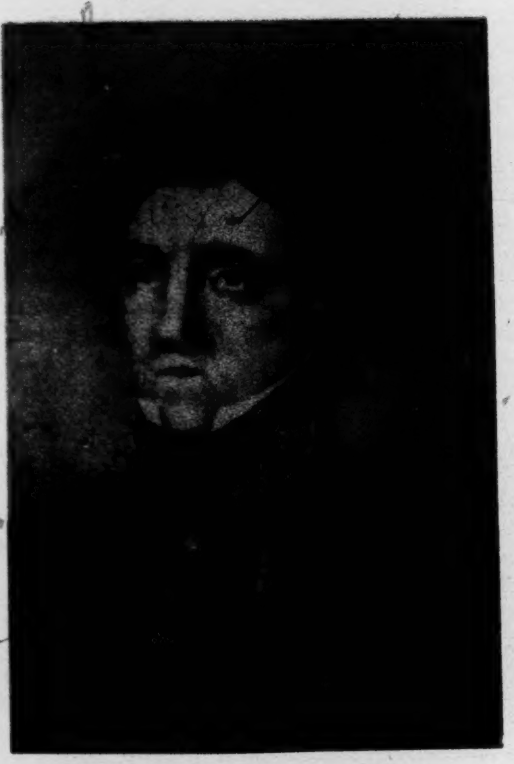
LOCAL ORDINANCES FOR ST. LOUIS AND GENERAL ORDINANCES PUBLISHED BY LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR DON FRANCISCO CRUZAT FROM OCTOBER 7, 1780 TO NOVEMBER 24, 1787

General Archives of the Indies — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Register of the orders published and posted by command of Don Francisco Cruzat during his term as commandant among the Ilinues Indians, from October 7, 1780, to November 24, 1787.

1st. Don Francisco Cruzat, lieutenant-colonel of infantry, commander-in-chief, and lieutenant-governor of the western part of Ilinues: Notwithstanding the reiterated orders by our predecessors and ourself which expressly forbid any person whatsoever from giving to the savages who arrive at this post any intoxicating liquor to drink, under penalty of being severely punished, we see with displeasure that many persons, despising the wisdom of the said ordinances and reckless of public tranquillity, give themselves up to drinking with the savages, in the hope of obtaining through this means their own private objects — without considering the effects of such a proceeding in a time so critical [as this], when melancholy experience ought to lead us to avoid dangers by preventing them. Consequently we most strictly forbid every person, of whatever occupation, rank, condition, and sex, from giving any liquor to the savages — even what is called a [*torn place in MS.*], under any pretext whatever. Those who disobey this ordinance shall be punished, for the first time, according to the requirements of the case; and for the second offence a legal process shall be drawn up against them, and they shall be sent with it, at their own cost and expense, to the general government, which shall determine their fate. And in order that no one may be ignorant of it, we ordain that this present be read, published, and posted. Given in the government building at St. Louis of the Yllinois, and signed by our hand, this 7th of October, 1780.

2nd. Don Francisco Cruzat, etc. The melancholy experience which we have of the fatal effects which always result from confusion



CRUZAT

in an unexpected alarm requires from our fidelity an active zeal to remedy the evil. Consequently, we prescribe the following rules and signals, so that in case of attack there may be exact compliance with them; to wit: When by day the colors are seen hoisted, and two cannon-shots are heard — one fired from the government building, and the other from the Exchange — and the drums beat the general [alarm], the [military] company which is composed of persons who live from the government house as far as the extremity of the village on the north side shall repair, immediately and without any delay, to the intrenchment on the north; and the company composed of residents from the government house as far as the end of the lower part of the village shall at the same time repair to the intrenchment on the south. If in the night a cannon-shot is heard, with the general alarm by the drums, every man shall repair immediately to the intrenchment assigned to him. The company of the north side will find at its intrenchment its officers: Don Eugéne[1] Beausoleil, Don Augustin Chouteau, and Don Charles Tayon. The company of the south will also find at their intrenchment their officers: Don Jean Baptiste Martigny, Don Pierre de Belétre,[2] and Don Pierre Montardy. These officers will be provided beforehand, by our orders, so that they may place the men, as they arrive [at the fortifications], at the posts which are directed by us. As the government is aware that the courage, gallantry, zeal, and activity of all the troops belonging to this post might expose them, in a disorderly sortie, to being sacrificed to the fury of the enemy, all persons, whoever they may be, are forbidden to sally from the intrenchments in an attack, without our approval. When we believe it to be necessary to make a sortie against the enemy, we shall ordain that this be done in order, and according to the circumstances. In order that no person may plead ignorance, we ordain that this be read, published, and posted in the customary places. Given in the government building at St. Louis of the Yllinois, and signed by our own hand, on October 29, 1780.

3rd. Don Francisco Cruzat, etc. It has come to our knowledge that various persons, who are wallowing in a shameful condition of sloth and negligence, employ their time and are too free in retailing to the public false tidings and unreliable reports, in the hope of alarming and disturbing that very public, which is sometimes too easily led astray by the marvelous, with impolitic reflections and with talk that is unbridled, underhanded, and opposed to good sense; that these persons, uneasy, restless, and giddy, thrust themselves in to stir up the people, for the malicious pleasure of disturbing the public tranquillity, and through the vain desire to raise themselves above the commonalty — imposing upon them by a tissue of sophistical reasonings without foundations or likeness to truth, but seductive. Desiring (since it is a part of our duty) to remedy this abuse, so opposed to the general peace and to the respect which ought to be felt for the government in a country that is civilized and under a monarch, we forbid with all our power, right, and full authority, every person, of whatever sex, rank, occupation, and condition, to spread abroad, communicate, or make known to the public, or even to a single individual, any news — whether true or false, favorable to the state, or otherwise — before he has privately announced it to the government, which alone ought to make public that which concerns the nation, or be occupied with it. In consequence, every person whatsoever who is proved and duly convicted of having opposed or infringed this ordinance, in whole or in part, will be regarded as rebellious against the government, and, as such, will be sent with due process against him to Nouvelle Orleans, at his own cost and expense, that he may be judged according to the full severity of the laws. In order that no one may be ignorant of this, we ordain that the present be read, published, and posted as is customary. Given at the government building in St. Louis of the Yllinois, and signed by our own hand, on February 9, 1781.

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[1] Pourée

[2] Belestre

4th. Don Francisco Cruzat, etc.: Experience demonstrates every day how necessary it is to provide by foresight against the treacherous blows which the savages very often deal to those to whom they had seemed most trustworthy, covering their foul projects by an apparent friendship which has all the external marks of a sincere attachment, the falseness of which is never known until the remedy fails to be efficacious, and one has been the dupe of a blind confidence. Consequently, we most strictly order every person, whatever his rank, occupation, and condition, not to leave his dwelling by day or night (whether or not there be savages in the village) without being well armed — as one ought to be in so critical a time of war, in a country where one cannot take too great precautions against the emergencies to which one is daily exposed. And to the end that no one may be ignorant of it, we command that the said ordinance be read, published, and posted in the customary places. Given in the government building at St. Louis of the Yllinois, and signed by our hand, on February 25, 1781.

5th. Don Francisco Cruzat, etc.: Notwithstanding that the public has already been previously warned that the ordinances of his Majesty very strictly forbid any person, whoever he may be, from advancing to the soldiers more than twenty-five sols without the permission of their superior officers, we again notify all persons, generally, in order to prevent the soldier from incurring more indebtedness than he can pay, and the public from being injured, that those who shall give credit to any soldier for a larger sum than that of twenty sols shall lose all the advances that they may have made to him and shall be granted no hearing; nor shall the soldier be compelled to pay what such person has advanced to him or given him on credit. In order that no one be ignorant of it, we ordain that the present be read, published, and posted in the customary places. Given at St. Louis of the Yllinois, in the government building, and signed by our hand, on May 24, 1781.

6th. Don Francisco Cruzat, etc.: The infraction of which some are guilty, [even doing so] in sight of the government building, of the ordinances published at various times by our predecessors which forbid very strictly horse-racing in the streets of the village, obliges us to renew those ordinances at this time, in order to prevent the misfortunes which may result from an abuse so diametrically opposed to the public safety. Consequently, we very strictly forbid, with all our power and full authority, every person, of whatever sex, occupation, rank, or condition, to go on horseback, or in a cart, sledge, or carriole, faster than a trot [*le petit pas*], no matter for what motive, cause, or pretext, under penalty to the disobedient — for the first time, fifteen days' imprisonment and twenty-five livres fine, to be applied to the treasury; and double [that amount] for the second offence.

We command all those who shall see any act of disobedience to the above command, or who shall have knowledge of it, to come to us and make a faithful report of it; if they do not, they will be punished like the aggressors.

In like manner, we command all the habitants not to leave any cart, plow, or other obstacle whatever in the streets of the village, as that is contrary to the good order that ought to prevail. And to the end that no one may allege ignorance of it, we ordain that the present be read, published, and posted in the customary places. Given in the government building at St. Louis of the Yllinois, and signed by our hand, on June 10, 1781.

7th. Don Francisco Cruzat, etc.: The abuses which are daily creeping in through the unruly conduct of the slaves at this post of St. Louis, owing to the criminal indulgence of some masters who are too little solicitous for their authority and for the public welfare — in which they ought to feel an interest, as [all are] members of the same body — oblige us, notwithstanding the orders previously published on this subject, again to prohibit the slaves, under the penalty of fifty blows from the lash, to hold any assembly at night, in the cabins or elsewhere; and they will also incur a more severe punishment according to the result of their said assemblies.

We most strictly forbid all the slaves to leave their cabins at night or otherwise, after the beat of tattoo [*retraite*], unless it be for some errand of their masters, and with the consent (either written or verbal) of the latter — under the penalty of fifty blows with the lash for the first time (if they are found in the streets), received in a public place; and double the penalty if they repeat the offense.

The slaves are likewise forbidden, under the same [penalty], to receive in their cabins other slaves, except those who belong to their own masters; and they are commanded to detain slaves who are strangers, and notify the masters of these — who shall be obliged to confine them, and themselves to be responsible for the tranquillity and good conduct of their slaves; if they do not, they shall be punished with imprisonment of one week, and shall pay a fine of fifty livres, to be applied to the public works of this post. The slaves shall not be allowed to dance, either by day or night, in the village or elsewhere, without an express permission from their masters and the consent of the government; and those who shall be arrested for failure to observe this order shall each receive in public fifty blows from the lash. And to the end that no one may be ignorant, we ordain that the present be read, published, and posted in the usual places. Given in the government building at St. Louis of the Yllinois, and signed by our hand, on August 12, 1781.

Don Francisco Cruzat, etc.: As it has come to the knowledge of the government that the savages, both free and slaves, and the negroes who belong to this post often dress themselves in barbarous fashion, adorning themselves with vermilion and many feathers which render them unrecognizable, especially in the woods: in order to avoid the misfortunes which may follow from the surprises which these men, thus metamorphosed, could occasion to those who might see them in an unexpected moment, and who, taking them for enemies, would shoot at them, we most strictly forbid all savages, whether free or slave, and all negroes of this said post to clothe themselves in any other manner than according to our usage and custom, either in the village or when they go into the woods or fields — under penalty of being punished with severity, and according to the result of their infraction of our orders. We enjoin the masters of the said slaves to watch over their conduct, not only in this respect but as concerns the nocturnal assemblies which these colored people are accustomed to hold, but which for a very long time past have been forbidden, as opposed to the public tranquillity and to the interests of their own masters. And to the end that no one may be ignorant of it, we ordain that the present be read, published, and posted in the usual places. Given in the government building at St. Louis of the Yllinois, on August 15, 1781.

Don Francisco Cruzat, etc.: Experience having shown that many persons in these settlements have died without making their [last] testaments, through the negligence or the knavery of persons in whose houses these persons died — who have not fulfilled the duty laid upon them, being under obligation (not only by the laws of humanity, but by those of conscience) to warn the sick man of the danger in which he is, and to induce him to put in order his affairs, both spiritual and temporal, and to make his will — we ordain that every person who resides under the government, at whose house there shall be any sick person who is declared by the surgeons to be in danger, shall try to induce the said sick person to make his will, and to perform the duty of the good Christian. Such resident shall also notify us of the state of the said sick person, in order that we may ourselves go to the dwelling of him who wishes to regulate his conscience by a will or other act by which his legitimate heirs may not be deprived of the inheritance which should revert to them; and in order to avoid by this means the lawsuits and chicanery which almost always result from the death of a person who has died without making a will, which has already occurred only too often. We also ordain that immediately upon the death of a sick person he in whose house this occurred shall come to us and give us the information which it is customary to furnish, in order that we may cut off the abuses which are continually creeping in on these occasions. And to the end that no one may pretend to be ignorant of it, the present shall be read, published, and posted in the customary places. Given in our government house at St. Louis, on October 14, 1781.[1]

Don Francisco Cruzat, Lieutenant-Governor of the Post of Ylinoa, etc.: Experience having shown how the kids and goats in the village cause injury to the habitants, we ordain that all persons who wish to have these animals must keep them shut up in their own yard or stable, so that they shall cause no injury to any private persons; and if it is proved that the said animals make any depredations, whether in the gardens or elsewhere, those who shall kill them shall not be in any way responsible to the masters of the said kids and goats, who shall be debarred from all claim [therefor], the general welfare being first in consideration of all wise governments. Having observed, in spite of the reiterated ordinances that have been published by us forbidding any one to leave in the streets carts, plows, sledges, carrioles, or any other impediment whatsoever, some persons have rashly dared to disobey, we most strictly prohibit the inhabitants of this post [from leaving] in the streets any of the articles above named, under penalty of a fortnight's imprisonment, and a fine of fifty francs applied to the public works at this post. St. Louis, November 16, 1781.

Don Francisco Cruzat, etc.: The fires, of which there has been no instance until the present time, and which are singularly making their appearance for some days past without our being able to discover the causes, oblige us to take measures for preventing still greater dangers in such cases. Consequently, we ordain that all the habitants and other persons who reside in this post repair, as soon as they hear the drums sound the general [alarm], or the alarm bell ring, to the place where the fire shall be seen appearing, each one carrying his gun or other defensive weapon, in order by this precaution to forestall any feint or ambush on the part of the enemy. But, as it is necessary to provide for checking the progress of the fire, we enjoin the said habitants and residents who shall have slaves to send them to the place where the fire is, without distinction of sex, with axes, spades, and mattocks. And to the end that no one may pretend to be ignorant of it, the present shall be read, published, and posted. At St. Louis, October 1, 1785.

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[1] It should be remembered that under the Spanish or Civil Law the descent and distribution was not regulated by statute.

Don Francisco Cruzat, etc.: In consequence of the certain knowledge that we have, that many persons in this district, in spite of the ordinance which was published by our predecessor, Don Pedro de Piernas, dated March 3, 1771, in regard to the obligation which rests upon the habitants to make known, whenever they know of such, the deserters of whom they shall have any knowledge, [fail to do so] — to the end that no one may be ignorant of it, we repeat [it in] this present ordinance, in order that it may be seen and read by all the public, and that all may conform to its requirements. To the end that all persons may be apprised of the obligation which rests on them to reveal and secure deserters, and of the penalties which are incurred by those who do not fulfil it, his Majesty gives warning to all persons who shall have knowledge of deserters and shall not denounce them to the officers of justice, that such offender shall be obliged by that very fact (whenever it shall be confirmed by sufficient proofs) to make satisfaction to the regiment with twelve piastres, in order to replace [the deserter with] another soldier, as well as the garments and clothes which the deserter had worn, besides the gratuities due to those who shall denounce or give information of such deserters, when hidden or not denounced — which are ten piastres, with all the expenses of their guard and conveyance. In case that private persons aid or conceal the deserters, by giving them clothes for disguising themselves, or by purchasing from them some part of their clothing or arms, the civilian shall, besides the obligation to reimburse the regiment for everything, be sentenced to six years of service in the arsenals or the public works; the noble, to six years of exile. If the offender be a woman, she shall be obliged to deliver up all the property, and shall pay a fine of twenty ducats, the whole of which shall be [applied] to aiding in the expenses. In like manner, all those who shall advance to the soldier more than the value of two escalins [*i.e.*, escudos?] unless it shall be with the knowledge and consent of the chief, shall lose all right to advance and prosecute a claim for it. Given in our government building at St. Louis of the Yllinois, on October 31, 1786.

FRANCISCO CRUZAT (rubric).

Don Francisco Cruzat: As it has come to the knowledge of this goverment that various traders and hunters residing in this district of his Catholic Majesty have, contrary to what was formerly decreed, engaged for their trading and hunting men from the foreign district, and as this practice is not only contrary to the intentions of this government — which has no other object in view than the advantage and benefit of the public, which must result to the greater good of these habitants — we most strictly forbid every person, of whatsoever condition or rank he may be, to engage for trading or hunting any other man than those who are found under the dominion of his Catholic Majesty. Those who contravene this order shall incur the penalty of a fortnight in prison, and a fine of fifty pounds of peltries, to be applied to the church of this village; and as for those who attempt to get ahead of the government by including such persons in the occupation of engagés, in order that they may be comprehended in the passport, they will be punished as the circumstances of the case require.

The government is also informed that various of its subjects, in order to assure themselves of the payment of what is due to them by various traders and hunters, make the latter sign the receipts, "For value received, for equipment," without having furnished to them anything for this purpose, in such manner [to render it] a privileged claim on the produce which the former deliver from the hunting and the trading; and as this rule is entirely contrary to the practice which has always prevailed in this country, and only occasions various difficulties, in order to avoid these we have decreed that in future the following rules be observed:

In order that the receipts agreed upon, either for trading or for hunting, may retain the privilege of being paid from the produce which these men may have collected in the aforesaid trading or hunting, as has been the custom in this country, it is made an indispensable condition that the said receipts shall be signed by the commandant, in the presence of the parties interested, who shall present to him the itemized statement of the credits [for goods] which the outfitter may have furnished; for without these particulars the charges which he may have made will be considered as being without any privilege, and he will come in only as one, with all the other creditors who prefer claims against the said trader or hunter, in order to share his produce *pro rata*.

Likewise, it is expressly forbidden to every trader, hunter, or merchant who may engage men for trading, hunting, or any other voyage that he may make in the district of the Ylinois, to advance to the engagés anything more than the indispensable [supplies] which are necessary, and which shall be considered a reasonable amount for the time of the voyage; and this may never exceed one-third of the amount for which they were engaged — to the end that when the engagé arrives at this village he can, with the remaining two-thirds, pay *pro rata* the debts which he may have. And in order that no one may allege ignorance, [this order] shall be published and posted in the usual place. Given at San Luis of Ylinois, on the 4th day of the month of March in the year 1787.

Francisco Cruzat.

Don Francisco de Cruzat, etc.: In virtue of orders which have been given to us by Monsieur Don Estevan Miro, governor-general of this province, in regard to the judgment which he has rendered in the action that has been brought in this post against several fugitive Indians, who have been held as slaves by various habitants of this post despite the ordinances which were published in the month of May in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy — declaring at the same time that all Indians, of both sexes, who are detained as slaves after the date of the said ordinance of one thousand seven hundred and seventy shall be accounted free, and recognized as such — consequently we judge it expedient to repeat the aforesaid ordinance, so that the public may know its tenor, in order to conform to it.

"Notice is given to all the habitants settled in this province that the wise and pious laws of his Majesty most strictly forbid any subject [of his], of whatever rank or condition he may be, to render any Indian a slave, or to hold one as such, under any pretext whatsoever, even though the same had been [made] one in open war with the tribe from which the Indian might come. Consequently, it is most strictly prohibited and forbidden to all the subjects of his Majesty, and even to travelers who chance to be in this province, to acquire, buy, or appropriate any savage slave, from the day of the publication of this edict; it is also ordained that the present owners of the said savage slaves are not allowed to get rid of those whom they have, in any manner whatsoever, except it be by giving them their liberty. While awaiting the orders of his Majesty on this subject, we enjoin the said owners [of slaves] to proceed to the record-office and make their affidavits, giving therein the names and tribes of the said Indians, and the price at which the owner values them. In order to obtain an exact knowledge of the number of Indians who are kept in slavery in all the dependencies of this colony, all the commandants of posts are enjoined to make an exact list of all the savages who shall be slaves, throughout the entire extent of their jurisdictions. This list shall contain the names of the said savages, with their ages, sex, and [tribal] affiliation, together with the names of masters who shall have them under their authority and the price and appraisal of the said savages. Of this list a copy shall be sent by the commandant to the office of Señor Garic,[3] notary of the cabildo, in order that it may be annexed to the declarations which he will receive from this city and its dependencies, so that afterward such orders may be given by his Majesty in regard to the whole as he may deem most expedient. Consequently, it is ordained that the present shall be read, published, and posted in the customary places, and [copies] sent to all the posts of this colony, to be there similarly read, published, and posted, and to be executed in its form and purport. Given in our palace at Nouvelle Orleans, on December 7, 1769. OREILLY."

And in order that no one may allege ignorance, we ordain that this shall be read, published, and posted in the customary places. Given in the government building at St. Louis of the Yllinois, on June 23, 1787.

Don Estevan Miró, colonel in the royal armies, civil and military governor of the province of Luisiana, Movila, and Panzacola, and inspector of the troops in them, etc.:

It has always been my constant desire to maintain the Indian tribes and their factions in the greatest possible harmony, endeavoring in all ways to further their wellbeing and tranquillity, at the same time gaining the advantages of the mutual commerce between them and the vassals of his Majesty; but the latter have been injured and attacked unjustly in the districts of Natchitochez and Arkanzas by the Grand Ozaxes [*i. e.*, Osages], without my being able to obtain any satisfaction, in spite of my having tried whatever means were possible. In order to avoid the bloody massacres and calamities which the perfidy of this nation has occasioned, I find myself under the painful necessity of commanding, under penalty of death, that no habitant in the settlement of Ylinues shall venture to trade, either directly or indirectly, with any Indian of the said Ozaxes nation. With the object of making known to all persons the just causes and motives which induce me to cut off every kind of commerce with the aforesaid nation, it will be sufficient to make known that in the year 1785 two prominent chiefs from the Indians established on the river of San Francisco in Arkanzas, and the great chief of the Caudachos,[3] presented themselves before this government; and with them I succeeded in making the general peace. In the month of December of the same year the Ozaxes, contrary to all good faith, attacked the Caudachos and Quitsais, seizing their horses and barbarously attacking some of their men. From that time, I took such measures as I judged most timely for restraining their raids, to make them recognize, if it were possible, their bad faith, and strove to influence them, in every way, to make a lasting peace. When I was at the point of accomplishing this, they, through their natural inconstancy, without heeding the humane treatment and the advantages which they received, fled from Arkanzas; and they have lately committed hostilities at a place sixty leagues from this village, on the estate of Luis Bayona. They have killed two of his engagés, named Languebin[4] and Lebeau; and up to the present time the said Bayona, his wife, and the others have not been seen. Such wicked and barbarous proceedings, contrary to all right and justice, in the midst of my having previously tried, on my part, all the means of reconciliation, require a vigorous demonstration — not only for the sake of the honor of the Spanish arms, but to give a warning once for all to a nation who are so recklessly breaking the most solemn promises and treaties. I am led to hope that all, recognizing the justice of the cause, will on their part take all possible means to secure the execution of the orders and carry out the measures that I have taken, without placing me in the position of proceeding against them with the full rigor of the laws. In virtue thereof, I command the lieutenant-governor of Ylinues to make known by proclamation to all the traders and merchants of that jurisdiction this ordinance, it being thoroughly understood that there will not be, on my part, the least toleration for any person who shall oppose it, in the case of trading with the Ozaxes — commerce with whom shall remain wholly prohibited, from the instant of the publication [aforesaid]. Given at Nueva Orleans, on May 13, 1787.

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[3] A Jean Garic, was a settler afterward on Vermillion River in Lower Louisiana.

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[3] Caddos.

[4] St. Aubin?

By command of the governor-general of this province:

FRANCISCO CRUZAT.

As commandant (which I now am) of these establishments among the Ylinueses, I certify that the orders which go before were published by my order in this village during my term of command. At San Luis of the Ylinues, on November 24, 1787.

FRANCISCO CRUZAT (rubric).

XLIX

REPORT OF GOV. MIRÓ TO THE MARQUIS SONORA OF OUTRAGES PERPETRATED BY THE OSAGE INDIANS

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Audiencia of Santo Domingo, Luisiana, and Florida — Papers and petitions regarding them, 1782–1787 — Estante 86; Cajon 7; Legajo 24

No. 184.

The governor of Luisiana reports the events in this province in relation to the Ósage and Cadó Indians, and makes a statement of the measures which he has taken to renew the peace which the former have broken.

Approved May 26, 1787.

Letter]

YOUR EXCELLENCY:

Sir: Under date of August first last year I wrote to the late Conde de Galvez, Captain General of these provinces as follows:

"In April of last year I succeeded in establishing peace between the Ósage and Cadó Indians, taking advantage of the fact that there were present in this capital the great chief of the latter and two of the former who had received small medals. The Ósages were full of enthusiasm for the peace, demanding it with loud voices, so that the Cadó chief, who was at first very much opposed to it — not because he did not desire it, for he offered on his part to commit no hostilities, but because he was acquainted with the perfidy and faithlessness of his enemy, being sure that they would not observe it — yet won over by the vehemence with which the Ósages promised to be faithful, at last consented to it. Then in order to confirm them in their peaceful inclinations, I said to them that whichever of the two should fail to keep the peace should have this government as its enemy. I stated that there must be included in the peace, as also declared the Cadó chief, all the tribes contiguous to this kingdom. I added this point in consideration of the fact that the commandants of the interior provinces had complained of the war which the said Ósages were making upon those tribes, from which harm resulted to the

Spaniards as well as to the Indians, and had begged me not to provide this tribe with opportunity to trade or with presents.

"Being assured that if the Ósages had at hand an opportunity to trade upon the upper waters of the river Arkanzás, to ask which they had come down, they would remain quieter, I succeeded in persuading a well known trader in this city to go up with them in a lighter with a capital of 12,000 pesos. They reached the end of their journey fortunately; and the council of the chiefs of the tribe having been assembled, the Ósages were introduced in it to the trader. The Indians who had been here informed them with much energy and earnestness of the peace which they had left established with the Cadós and the other tribes surrounding Nueva España. They acquainted them with the fact that upon their observance of this peace depended the continued protection afforded them by this government and the constant supply of articles of commerce which they were to have. They added to this as marvels all they had seen in this city; the ships, the size of the houses, the streets, the chaises, the dress, the people of distinction, the entertainments which I and many others at my suggestion had given them. Of all these circumstances and of many of less consequence they made a boast, deeming themselves better than the rest of their tribe, who could not believe what they reported to them and doubted their truthfulness. Yet they applauded everything, showing themselves highly pleased with the actual and tangible existence of the trade; and they adhered with enthusiasm to the peace. Who would have said that the result of vanity and of ill-considered policy in the older of the two Ósages who were in this capital would have produced an act of perfidy and the open violation of this peace? This chief, named Brucaigais, to draw the Cadó into this peace, had said to him in my presence: 'My father was slain by thee or thine almost at the door of thy cabin. Yet I extend to thee my open hand to receive thy pledge of peace, having given to thee proofs of my good intentions in that last year I gave back to thee one of my prisoners, thy relative.' Yet this chief animated by some foolish jealousy is the one who secretly formed a war party in the month of December last year and sent it to attack the Cadós and Kitsafs, surprised them separately by taking advantage of their good faith, killed of the first three men and of the second two, and carried off their bands of horses.

The jealousy to which I refer above in the mind of the said chief arose from the fact that when the marvels which he recounted were heard by one of his companions to whom I had sent a small medal, clothes, and a hat, as was suitable, the latter manifested his will and desire to come down to this capital when the merchant returned. This aroused great ill will in the said Brucaiguais because of his feeling that he could not uphold his reputation as the greater personage if his companion carried out his purpose; and he could think of no other way to prevent him from doing so than by violating the peace so that he might not dare to present himself. He confessed this afterward, giving it as an excuse, and charging the trader, who had returned after having concluded the sale of his goods to advantage, to beg my pardon in his behalf. The Cadó chief immediately appeared in Natchitoches before the commandant, informing him of the hostilities mentioned in order that he might communicate them to me and suggesting that he hoped I should treat the Ósages as enemies from that time forward.

"The measures which I have taken in this matter thus far have been to direct the commandant of Arkanzás to prohibit goods from being taken up to the upper waters of the river so that the Ósages may not be provided with them. In case they appear and submit themselves, he is to inform them that I am no longer able to put the slightest confidence in their words, and that only in one way will they be able to acquire the protection of this government and uninterrupted trade, namely: if in proof of their good faith and of the originating of the said hostilities from no other source but from the caprice of Brucaiguais, they shall resolve to hand over to me this chief and the leader who was at the head of the warriors in the said attacks, whom I shall keep here as hostages without taking their lives, allowing them the city as a place of imprisonment and providing that the Indians may exchange them once a year if they wish.

"The said tribe of Ósages are the same who have their principal place of residence in the immediate neighborhood of Ylinoeses; on which account I have given suitable orders to Don Francisco Cruzat directing him to refuse to trade with them if possible, but leaving this point to his judgment. I fear this order may not be so easily executed there because they can provide themselves among the Americans or even among the English of Michilimakimak, which would bring about worse consequences; and to avoid these evils it will perhaps be necessary to allow them to trade in Ylinoeses so that they may not become acquainted with any other power.

"My prohibition of the carrying of goods farther up than the forts of Arkanzás may bring it about that the Ósages may do harm to the white hunters, of whom there are as many as two hundred settled on the upper waters of the said river; and if they murder one it is likely that the rest will give up hunting in that region. Yet I am unable at the present time to discover any other way to impress upon them their lack of faithfulness and gratitude, to permit which to go entirely unpunished would engender in them contempt for our nation. I am the more convinced of this because I understand that no great damage will be caused by the discontinuance of trade on this river. Although it provides this city with part of the tallow and salted meat which it consumes, I have no fear of the scarcity which will affect the subsistence of the inhabitants here.

"If the Ósages instead of submitting commit hostilities, it will be necessary to find some means of inflicting exemplary punishment upon them. In case we should be forced to act by such a state of affairs, I have asked for information on several points from the said commandant directing him to form a plan of attack, which I see even now will be very difficult because of the ease with which they can flee. If they commit hostilities they may establish their settlements at a very great distance from our posts, which will make it impracticable to take them without great expense."

I concluded this report to the Conde de Galvez by asking for his instructions, which he had no opportunity to communicate.

I afterwards received a letter from the commandant of Arkanzás in which he reports that foreseeing that the Ósages would not dare to come down he sent the interpreter to acquaint them with my purposes. They acceded to them for the moment with such readiness that nine came down with the same interpreter to the district named, bringing with them two chiefs. They surrendered to the same commandant the banner, medal, and patent of the man who as aforesaid violated the peace, in token of their having degraded him. They were unable to compel him to come down in person because he was lying at the point of death. But they declared that they would oblige two of the greatest consideration in their tribe to do so, whom they offered as hostages. The said commandant received them with pleasure, informing them that I should be well satisfied with the good sense with which they acted, and prepared a canoe and provisions that the said chiefs and the two men of rank as hostages might go down. After they had taken leave with a view to undertaking the journey at daybreak on the following morning, they disappeared during the night — an action in conformity with the general character of the Indians who change their minds easily according to the impression made upon them by the last men they listen to. This characteristic was verified in the present case, an Arkanzás Indian of small consequence having said to them that they had better not come down to this city since judging by the state of wrath in which I was I should doubtless have them burnt alive, a torture which they sometimes inflict upon their captive enemies.

I doubt not that as soon as they are relieved of this unfounded alarm, they will be brought to the point of sending hostages, provided that they do not commit hostilities against the first whites whom they meet under the influence of the wicked notion of which I have spoken.

Accordingly I beg Your Excellency to place the foregoing before His Majesty in order that he may deign to authorize me to support the two Indians of rank here in case they come down, for they will occasion the small expense of two rations. I beg that he will also command the orders to be given me for the second case which shall be in accordance with his royal approval.

God grant Your Excellency many years. Nueva Orleans, February 1, 1781.

Your Excellency's most obedient servant kisses your hands.

ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

To His Excellency Marq. de Sonora.

Reply]

The King, informed by Your Lordship's letter of the first of last February, No. 184, as to the events of your province in relation to the Ósages and Cadós Indians, has been pleased to approve the measures taken by your Lordship to renew the peace broken by the former; and he authorizes Your Lordship in case the Ósages send the two most highly considered members of their tribe, whom they have offered as hostages, to maintain them at the capital of the province, as a precaution against their hostility.

God, etc.

Aranjuez, May 27, 1787.

To his Lordship the Governor of Luysiana.

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INVENTORY OF PAPERS, INSTRUCTIONS, ETC., DELIVERED TO DON MANUEL PEREZ BY LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR CRUZAT IN 1787

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

General Inventory of all the Papers, Instructions, Relations, Orders, and other Documents, belonging to the civil and military Government of the post of San Luis de Ylinneses, which were delivered by the Lieutenant-Colonel and Commandant of the 3d battalion of the regular Regiment of this Province, Don Francisco Cruzat, to his successor in the command of these settlements, Don Manuel Perez, Captain of the above-named Regiment.

Firstly: A particular set of instructions for the Lieutenant-Governor of the villages of San Luis and Santa Genoveva, and of the districts of the Missoury River of His Excellency, Don Alexandro Orreylly; dated February 17, 1770.

Another particular set of instructions for the administration of justice, both in the civil and in the criminal, belonging to the Lieutenant-Governor of these settlements; dated January 26, 1770.

A printed set of instructions, in French, for the method of substantiating and determining civil and criminal causes, and other ordinary suits for the province.

Another similar set, in the Spanish language.

A printed set of instructions, in French, for the management and government of the particular Lieutenants of the shore and other posts dependent on the general government of the province.

Two copies, printed in the French language, for the method of registering acts, contracts, and mortgages.

Two copies, printed in the French language, for the regulation and concessions of land.

A collection, in French, of all the orders, published in the villages of San Luis and Santa Genoveva, by order of His Excellency, Count de Orreylly.

A note of the pay which was conceded in Ylinnesses by His Excellence, Count de Orreylly; dated February 23, 1770.

A statement of the documents delivered to the particular Lieutenant of the village of Santa Genoveva, Don Francisco Vallé, for his government and procedure, by Don Pedro Piernas.

A collection, or copy, of all the orders, published and established by order of Don Pedro Piernas, in this village of San Luis, during the time of his command.

A notice, or report, of the Indian tribes with whom trade is generally carried on in the dependency of the Missoury River, with the expression of the number of traders who can be assigned to each tribe, and the quantity of merchandise which is sufficient for them in order to assure the existence of trade with them.

A copy of the convention which was held with the tribes of the Little Osaxes and Missouris for the delivery of the murderers, and [the discussion of] other insults and thefts which the Indians of the above-mentioned tribes and others of the dependencies of the Missoury River committed against the vassals of His Catholic Majesty.

A collection of all the orders, published by order of Don Francisco Cruzat, in this village of San Luis, during the first three years of his command.

A copy of the inventory, with estimates, which was made of the effects which were found in the storehouses of the King, of this village of San Luis, after the flight of the storekeeper, Monsieur Lefebre Doubrisau, on August 22, 1771, the original of which was sent to the Governor-General.

Another copy of the above-mentioned inventory, with estimates, with the sale of all effects contained [therein] and detailed prices of each article, dated July 8, 1772, the original of which has also been sent to the Governor-General of the province.

A detailed report of the present, which is to be distributed to the twelve tribes of Indians and their corresponding chiefs, allotted by His Excellency, Don Alexandro Orreylly; and the six tribes of the Vella River [*i. e.*, Ohio] of the English district added as well in fulfilment of Article twelve of the instructions of His above-named Excellency.

A statement of bread and corn which was consumed by the Indian tribes who came to receive the presents which were assigned to them in the village of San Luis from May 20, 1770, to January 4, 1771, for the regulation of said supplies in the future.

An act or possession with seals, with the collections of keys, which was executed by Monsieur de Saint Ange, in the effects of the King's storehouse, immediately after the escape of the storekeeper, Monsieur Lefebre Doubrisau, including also those effects found in the house proper of said storekeeper, May 14, 1770.

An inventory in the French language, drawn up by Don Luis de St. Ange of the effects which were found in the house of the storekeeper, Monsieur Lefebre Doubrisau, belonging to the same, after his escape, May 28, 1770; and inserted therein a receipt for the clothes that he wore which were delivered to said storekeeper in order to go down to the city of Nueva Orleans.

An inventory in the French language, drawn up by Don Luis de St. Ange, of the effects which were found in the King's storehouse, after the flight of the storekeeper, Monsieur Lefebre Doubrisau, May 31, 1770, and inserted therein a certificate of the loss of powder which was found, in order to state the cause by which it was produced when its weight was examined; dated May 29, 1770; and a report of the expenses occasioned during the time taken for the formation of said inventory.

A declaration of Josef Segond, dated May 30, 1770, of various effects which he received from the storekeeper, Monsieur Lefebre Doubrisau, after his escape to the English district; and inserted therein a certificate of the above-mentioned storekeeper and a letter from a habitant of Oká, named Boluen.

A declaration of the storekeeper, Monsieur Lefebre Doubrisau, received after his arrest, January 7, 1771, with some subjoined letters from Monsieur Boluen, habitant of the English district, relative to it.

Another declaration of the same, of the 8th of the abovesaid month and year.

An inventory in French, of the effects belonging to the storekeeper, Monsieur Lefebre Doubrisau, of the slaves and other possessions, both real estate and movable property which remained, after his flight, in charge of Don Luis de St. Ange, and which the latter delivered to Agustin Coudé, who received them in order to take care of them and they are in his possession with the obligation of representing them whenever they are required; dated May 22, 1771.

A copy of the orders which Don Pedro Piernas received from the Governor-General, Don Luis de Unsaga.

Seven order letters, received by Don Francisco Cruzat, during the first three years of his command of these settlements; signed by His

Excellency, Count de Galvez, and inserted therein, a law contrary to the abuse which had been introduced of having the debts paid which the merchants and other persons presented contrary to the same law.

A report of the acts and other documents [*piezas*] which were enacted and passed by Don Pedro Piernas, during the time of his command in these settlements, and delivered to Don Francisco Cruzat, and which are deposited in the archives of this government.

Another report of the acts and other documents which have been enacted and passed by Don Francisco Cruzat, during the first three years of his command in these settlements, and delivered to his successor, Don Fernando de Leiba, and which are deposited in the archives of this government.

Another report of the acts and other documents which have been drawn up and passed by Don Fernando de Leiba and Don Francisco de Cartabona, from the eighteenth of June, 1778, until September 23, 1780, and are deposited in the archives of this government.

Another statement of the acts and other documents which have been drawn up and passed by Don Francisco Cruzat, from September 24, 1780, until November 25, 1787, and which are deposited in the archives of this government.

A set of instructions for the government of village tavern-keepers, and other matters, printed in the French language; dated October 8, 1769, by His Excellency, Don Alexandro Orreilly.

Another set of instructions, printed in French, for the regulation of physicians and surgeons.

Another set of instructions, which were to be observed by the Lieutenant-Governor of these settlements, signed by his Excellency, Don Bernardo de Galvez, March 19, 1778, with some secret articles.

Another set of instructions, which are to be observed by the commandants of the posts of this province, concerning what they are to supply to the families who are assigned to the population of said posts. Signed by his Excellency, Count de Galvez; dated February 10, 1778.

Fifty-four letters, written by the Governor-General to Captain Don Fernando de Leiba, during his command in these settlements.

A contract of Don Francisco Vallé referring to a house which is used as a barracks in the village of Santa Genoveva for the troops garrisoned in that village. Signed by the said Don Francisco Vallé and Don Francisco Cruzat; dated June 1, 1781.

Another contract, drawn up by the militia Lieutenant of this village, Don Benito Vasquez, relating to the house which is used as a lodging by the Lieutenant-Governor of these settlements, and as a storehouse for the merchandise assigned for the presents of the Indians. Signed by the abovesaid Don Benito Vasquez and Don Francisco Cruzat; dated August 1, 1783.

Another contract, drawn up by Don Agustin Choteau, relating to the ground and house which is used as a barracks for the troops garrisoned in this village of San Luis, and as a storehouse for the ammunitions of the king deposited there. Signed by the above-mentioned Don Agustin Choteau and by Don Francisco Cruzat; dated July 31, 1787.

Another contract, drawn up by the militia Lieutenant of this village, Don Benito Vasquez, by which he binds himself to furnish all the wood necessary for the guards of this village, at the rate of one peso per cartload. Signed by the above-mentioned Don Benito Vasquez and Don Francisco Cruzat; dated October 31, 1781.

Another contract, made by the above-mentioned militia lieutenant Don Benito Vasquez, by which he binds himself to furnish or supply all the wood which might be necessary for the Indian bands which come to this village, at the rate of one peso per cartload. Signed by the above-mentioned Don Benito Vasquez and Don Francisco Cruzat; dated October 1, 1780.

An official letter, written by Don Pedro Piernas to the Governor-General of this province, Don Estevan Miró, from the fort of Pensacola, by which he states to him his motives for establishing the method which was to be followed in making trade more advantageous with the Indian tribes of the Missoury river of the dependency of the Ylinneses; with a report of the number of traders and the amount of merchandise which was to be set aside for each tribe for the greater increase of the trade of these settlements.

Five official letters, written by the Intendant-General of this province, Don Martin Navarro, to Don Francisco Cruzat, among which is found an order from the King, ordering the habitants of these settlements not to pay the tithes as they were accustomed to do during the time of the extinguished Jesuits.

A set of instructions or regulations drawn up by the habitants of this village concerning the method which is to be followed for the conservation of the grain as well as for the construction of the enclosure or stockade which is to be made in order to prevent animals from entering the fields; signed by the persons whom said habitants appointed in the general meeting which was called for this said purpose, September 22, 1782, in order to draw up the said regulations, and by the Lieutenant-Governor, Don Francisco Cruzat.

A book of dissertation in regard to the method of preserving all the villages from the smallpox, printed in the Spanish language.

A collection, or register, of the orders, published and established by order of the captain Don Fernando de Leiba, in this village of San Luis, during his command.

Another collection or register of all the orders published and established in this village of San Luis, by order of Don Francisco Cruzat, during the last seven years when he was in command of these settlements.

A set of instructions of the orders which are to be observed by the commandant of the village of Santa Genoveva; signed by Don Francisco Cruzat; dated June 19, 1781.

Two lists, or relation, of the officers, sergeants, corporals, and soldiers composing the two companies of the militia of this village of San Luis, at the present time.

A list, or relation, of the officers, sergeants, corporals, and soldiers composing the company of the militia of the village of Santa Genoveva, at the present time.

Fifty official letters from the Governor-General of this province in which are enclosed various orders from the King, which Don Francisco Cruzat has received during the seven years of his command in these settlements.

A general inventory of all the artillery, ammunition, war supplies, and various other effects, which are found in this village of San Luis and in that of Santa Genoveva, for the defense of those villages, and which have been delivered to Don Manuel Peres.

A relation of all the merchandise, brandy, powder, balls, and various other effects, which are in possession of Don Francisco Cruzat for the presents of the Indian tribes who come to this village, and which have been delivered to his successor in the command of these settlements, Don Manuel Peres, so that he may make the use of them for which they are allotted.

Five copies or models, [forms] which are to be followed in making the general register of these settlements, which is to be sent annually to the general government, at the latest, by the month of January of each year, according to the commands of Don Esteban Miró, in his official report of July 27, 1786.

San Luis de Ylinneses, November 27, 1787.

FRANCISCO CRUZAT (rubric).

I have received from the Lieutenant-Colonel and Commandant of the 3d battalion of the regular regiment of infantry of Luisiana, Don Francisco Cruzat, the papers and other documents which are named in the preceding inventory. San Luis de Ylinneses, November 27, 1787.

MANUEL PEREZ (rubric).

LI

EFFECTS DELIVERED TO DON MANUEL PEREZ BY LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR CRUZAT IN 1787

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba

General Inventory of all the artillery, war supplies, ammunition, and other effects existing in these posts of Ylinneses, belonging to the King for their defense, and which the Commandant of these Settlements, Don Francisco Cruzat, delivered to his successor, Don Manuel Perez.

War material:

In the Tower of San Carlos

Firstly: Three four-pound cannons, with their proper carriages, quoins, and levers.

Two *idem*, with a caliber of six, with their proper carriages, quoins, and levers.

Three ladles with their proper wad-drawers.

Five ramrods with their proper gun-sponges.

One hundred and twenty-seven balls of the caliber of four.

Fifty-seven *idem*, of the caliber of six.

Four leads for stopping the touch-holes of four cannons.

Fourteen cartridges made from canvas, each one weighing two and one-half pounds; and one of powder.

Nine sacks of musket-balls for canister, each one weighing two and one-half pounds.

One priming-horn full of powder, for priming the cannons.

Four pins and two augers for the cannons.

One chest with its lock and key for the ammunition.

In the Bastion at the North

Firstly: Three cannons, of the caliber of six, with their proper carriages, quoins, and levers.

Two *idem*, of the caliber of two, with their proper carriages, quoins, and levers.

Eighteen balls of the caliber of six.

One ladle, with its proper wad-drawer, of the caliber of six.

Three ramrods, with their sponges, of the caliber of six.

Four ramrods, three with their sponges, and one with a wad-drawer, all of the caliber of two.

In the Ravelin of the North

Firstly: One cannon of the caliber of six, with its proper carriage, quoin, and levers.

A ladle with its wad-drawer for said cannon.

One sponge with its ramrod.

Three cannons, with a caliber of two, with their proper carriages, quoins, and levers.

Three sponges, with their proper ramrods, for said cannons.

Three wad-drawers, with their proper sponges, for *idem*.

One priming-horn, with a bit of powder, for priming the cannons.

One auger and one pin for said cannons.

Six cartridges made of canvas and filled with powder, each weighing two and one-half pounds.

Nine cartridges, *idem*, each weighing one pound.

Six sacks of musket-balls for canister, each weighing two and one-half pounds.

Nine, *idem*, each weighing one pound.

Seven cannon-balls, of the caliber of six.

One chest, with its lock and key, in which to keep the ammunition.

One watercask, hooped with iron.

In the Guardroom of the Barracks

One cannon of the caliber of two, with its proper carriage, quoin, and levers.

One ramrod for said cannon.

One sponge for *idem*.

One wad-drawer for *idem*.

One priming-horn, for priming the cannon.

One pin.

One large banner with the royal arms and a cord for hauling it up.

In the Village of Santa Genoveva

Firstly: Three cannons of the caliber of two, with their proper carriages.

Twelve cartridges for *idem*.
One pin for said cannons.
Twenty-eight sacks of canister.
One hundred musket-cartridges, with powder and balls.
One wad-drawer.
Two sponges with their ramrods, which are useless.
One iron shovel.
One useless banner.
One campaign tent, without frame-work.
Fifty-eight pounds of powder.
One hundred and sixty pounds of balls.

In the Powder Storehouse

One large chest, containing one thousand musket-cartridges in which thirty-eight pounds of powder are used.

Two hundred and forty-six pounds of powder, in three barrels.

Three hundred and five and one-half pounds of musket-balls.

In the Tool Storehouse

One small blacksmith's anvil.
One bellows, *idem*, old.
One old bronze mortar, with its iron pestle.
One copper campaign jar.
Twelve large iron axes.
Twelve *idem*, medium sized.
Twenty-four iron shovels.
Twenty-four hoes.
Nine cartridge-cases of calibers of six and four.
One large iron weight, with its wooden balances.
Another, *idem*, small, with its copper balances.
One iron weight of fifty-two pounds.
One *idem*, of lead, of twenty-four pounds.
Two *idem*, of twelve.
Two *idem*, of eight.
One half-minot[1] measure, made of wood hooped with iron.
One grapnel or small boat anchor.
One cast-aside tarpauling.

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[1] The minot was an old measure used by the French of Lower Canada and is equivalent to 1.1111 bushels, United States measure, 1.0772 bushels, English measure, and 39.1508 liters.

Four small iron gunlock-vises (?) [monteretes, for montarresortes (?)]; useless.

Eight large campaign tent shovels, with their sockets of iron.

Three entirely useless canvas sails.

Three cast-aside and useless tarpaulings.

Three priming-horns, for priming the cannons.

One part filled with old shovels for campaign tents, entirely useless.

One gardener's iron hoe, with its handle of wood.

One part filled with fuse cord; useless.

One wooden shovel.

One wooden mallet.

Four simple pulleys.

Part of a campaign-tent curtain, rotten and altogether useless.

One grindstone, with its iron winch.

San Luis de Ylinneses, November 27, 1787.

FRANCISCO CRUZAT (rubric).

Charge and delivery was made of the ammunition, war-supplies, and other effects, expressed in the preceding report San Luis de Ylinneses, November 27, 1787.

MANUEL PEREZ (rubric).

Presents for Indians

Report of the merchandise, brandy, powder, balls, and other effects in my charge at present, belonging to the presents which must be given to the Indian tribes, who are the dependents of this western district of Ylinneses; and which I deliver to my successor in the command of these settlements, Don Manuel Perez.

Firstly: One thousand four hundred jugs of brandy made from sugarcane, in fourteen casks[3]	1,400
One thousand three hundred and fifty pounds of powder, in nine chests	1,350
Two thousand seven hundred pounds of balls	2,700
Seventy-nine white blankets	79
Nine *idem*, cast aside	9

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[3] It has been suggested that, in spite of the fact that the colonial government took measures to prohibit or lessen the trading of liquor to the Indians by individual traders, it was itself guilty of fostering that traffic by giving the Indians brandy as a present.

Sixteen pieces of Limbourg cloth, each containing seventeen aunes	272
Seventy-eight striped shirts	78
Eleven white shirts	11
Eight *idem*, cast aside	8
Eleven white ornamented shirts	11
Nine garments trimmed with lace for the chiefs	9
Two lace-trimmed hats for *idem*	2
Two white plumes	2
Seven aunes of silk ribbon for medals	7
Five hundred sewing-needles	500
Three hundred and thirty-eight hawk's-bells	338
Seventy-eight thimbles	78
Seven mirrors	7
Two hundred and fifty-seven aunes of woolen ribbon	257
Four hundred and eight combs	408
Eighty pounds of beads	80
Seventy pounds of vermilion	70
Twelve and one-half pounds of sewing thread	12½
One hundred and eighty pairs of scissors	180
One hundred and eighty wad-drawers	180
Fifty awls	50
Four banners	4
Five large silver medals	5
Twenty-five hoes	25
Twenty-six medium-sized axes	26
Thirty-four hatchets	34
Ninety knives	90
Two hundred and seventy claspknives	270
Sixty steels [for striking fire]	60
Fifteen pounds of wire	15
Two thousand five hundred musket flints	2,500
Eighty-four muskets	84
One hundred and eight pounds of tobacco	108
Two copper kettles	2
Eight gorgets	8
Seven small silver medals	7
Eleven large axes	11
One hundred and ninety useless hoes	190

San Luis de Ylinneses, November 27, 1787.

FRANCISCO CRUZAT (rubric).

I have received from the Lieutenant-Colonel and Commandant of the 3d Battalion of the regular infantry regiment of Luisiana, Don Francisco Cruzat, the brandy, merchandise, and other effects mentioned in the preceding report, corresponding to the presents which are furnished in his Majesty's name to the bands of Indians who come to this village. In order that such may be evident, and serve as data to the above-mentioned Lieutenant-Colonel, I sign the present at San Luis de Ylinneses, November 27, 1787.

Manuel Perez (rubric).

LII

FORTIFICATIONS OF ST. LOUIS — REPORT OF LIEUT.-GOV. PEREZ, DATED 1788

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Letter to Miró:]

No. 83.

It is not surprising that the stockade which was constructed in the time of my predecessor has become useless in so short a time, for it is a defect in the quality of the timber of this country which decays very readily within four or five years. This reflection has made me see that if the bastion is built again of stakes it will be a useless expense, since it will be in the same condition in five or six years as it is today. The only wood of which it could be built and which would last from twenty-five to thirty years, according to the experience of these habitants, is the cedar. Having made investigation by virtue of the order which Your Lordship gave me in your official communication of May seven, namely, that I investigate whether there was anyone who would take the contract obliging himself to build it of this wood, I have not found anyone who can determine to do it, because the cedar is not found in this neighborhood, for one must go forty-five or fifty leagues up the Misuri to get it. That occasions great expense and danger, and doubtless the expenses would be very great, if it could be done. On that account, it would be better to build it of stone, for this is a work that will last through an infinity of time, and I do not believe its costs excessive.

In order that Your Lordship may know the probable cost of the bastion, if it be constructed of stone, I am sending Your Lordship the enclosed plan of the circumference of this village, in the manner in which it was when the fortifications built in the time of my predecessor were finished. Absolutely [nothing] has remained, as I have told Your Lordship, except the tower of San Carlos and the demilune. In the same plan is detailed with [*blank space in transcript*] or with the most possible, the cost to which the above-mentioned work of the bastion, if built of stone, will amount. Its total cost reaches two thousand five hundred and fifty pesos fuertes. That sum does not seem exorbitant to me and it is impossible to do it with less.

Besides this expense, it is indispensable if they are to be maintained to repair the guard-rooms of the above-mentioned bastion and demi-lune. As the wall of this part is only built of earth, throughout its length, it is crumbling away, and for its repair, made with strict economy, we need at least six hundred and fifty or seven hundred pesos. For it will be necessary to build the roofs new, since inasmuch as they do not last for so long a time as they ought, in this country, the shingles [*bandos*] are not nailed down as they are lower down [the river]. For since they have only one wedge [*cuna*] which rests on a lath, two inches broad, the many strong winds to which this country is exposed, carries them off easily, and lets the water and snow in, which rot them out of season.

Your Lordship will take the measures which you deem suitable. In case that you consider it fitting that the repairs are made, and if you wish that the roofs of the guard-houses be nailed down, will Your Lordship please have eighty pounds of shingle [*bando* or *bardo*] nails and fifty pounds of lathing nails sent me, since it would be difficult to find them here, and in case we find them, a pound would not weigh any less.[1]

Since we have incurred some heavy expenses here, and since today there is no hope of us incurring any, I believe it would not be too much for the treasury if seven or eight thousand pesos were to be spent now in the above-mentioned works, constructing as well, the bastions of the southern part with its guard-room. That would be very useful for the preservation and security of this village. This is only making known to Your Lordship what I believe advisable at present, according to the circumstances of the country.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years. San Luis de Ylinneses, December 2, 1788.

MANUEL PEREZ.

Addressed: "Don Estevan Miró."

Miro's reply :]

In view of the enclosed copy of the order of the Captain-general of these provinces, Don Jose de Espeleta, Your Grace will proceed to make the repairs of those fortifications which Your Grace proposed,

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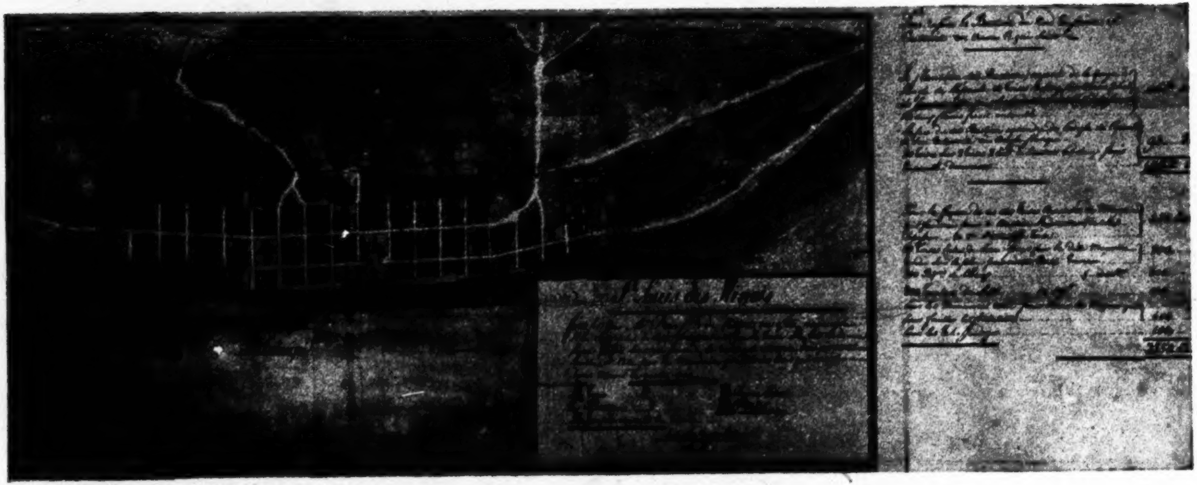
[1] Or possibly: "Their delivery would be no less difficult."



CRUZAT'S PLAN OF ST. LOUIS, 1780

Reduced Photograph facsimile from the Manuscript in Archives of the Indies, Seville.

their cost not to exceed the sum mentioned. May God etc. Nuevo Madrid [*i. e.*, Nueva Orleans?], June 3, 89.

Addressed · "Don Manuel Perez."

[On the accompanying map is the following:]

St. Louis des Ilinois. Fortified by Monsieur Don Francisco Cruzat in 1780. Today nothing of this fortification is left, except the tower A and the demi-lune B, which are built of stone. The remainder, which was built of wood, has completely fallen, because of the poor quality of the wood, which has rotted in less than four years.

A — Tower.
B — Demi-lunes.
C — Bastions.
D — Gates.
E — Earthworks.

Drawn to scale of 100 toises.

To rebuild the north bastion of stone would cost about as follows:

The flank of the said bastion having the gorge at the angle of the shoulder, 10 toises long by 2 toises 2 feet high, counting foundations, and three feet thick. The two flanks would cost together 46 piastres 4 sols.

The face of said bastion to extend from the angle of the shoulder to its extremity where the angle flanks, 93 piastres, 2 sols.

20 toises by 2 toises thick, the two faces together will cost 140 piastres [the total of the two preceding figures].

For the cutting of those 140 toises of a fair quality of masonry, which would be necessary for this bastion, if it were made 3 feet thick, at 2½ piastres per toise[1]	350 piastres
80 cubic toises of earth for the said masonry, hauled to the spot, would cost about	800 piastres
200 casks of lime, at 3 piastres each	600 piastres
200 tons (?) [*tombrés*] of sand, at 50 s.	100 piastres
For the journeymen masons and for the use of the masons for digging the foundations	600 piastres
For the scaffolding	100 piastres
Total	2,550 piastres

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[1] 6.39459 feet.

LIII

PROTEST OF GOVERNOR MIRÓ AGAINST GRANT TO COL. GEORGE MORGAN — DATED 1789[1]

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Audiencia of Santa Domingo, Luisiana, and Florida — Duplicate of Governors and Intendants, 1788 and 1789 — Estante 86; Cajón 6; Legajo 17

Synopsis:]

Number 39; Secret.

The Governor-Intendant of the Province of Luisiana presents a protest against the extended portion of lands, in regard to which Don Diego Gardoqui has given Colonel Morgan the hope of obtaining the royal concession, as it is contrary to the welfare of the state in general and to the welfare of that province in particular; in regard to which he makes various important reflections.

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[1] In September, 1787, Col. George Morgan in a memorial addressed to Don Diego de Gardoqui, at the time Spanish minister to the United States, residing then in New York, proposed to establish upon certain conditions, a great colony at or near the mouth of the Ohio, and which within ten years he claimed would number a population of 100,000 souls. The conditions which he deemed essential to accomplish this were: local self-government, exemption from taxation, freedom of religion, the establishment of a port of entry at or near the mouth of the Ohio, and emigrants to be permitted to introduce their slaves, stock, provisions, household and farming utensils without paying duty. For himself personally Morgan asked the rank of Colonel in the Spanish service and a concession of 20 square miles, a pension for life, and other privileges and advantages for himself and family. Gardoqui was greatly interested in this plan and made Morgan a conditional grant of a province or colony to be settled extending from the mouth of the St. François to Cape Cinque Hommes, or St. Come, now in Perry County, and extending west two degrees, the total extent of the grant embracing about 15,000,000 acres. Further, Gardoqui wrote Morgan: "As you seem anxious not to lose any time, I forthwith transmit a passport and letters for the Spanish authorities, so that you may go at once, examine the territory in which you contemplate making your settlement. On your arrival in New Orleans you will act in concert with the Governor, who will give you all the facilities you desire and in your progress through the West, on your way to the Capital of Louisiana, you will assure the inhabitants of his Majesty's desire to grant them all the favors and privileges which may secure their prosperity." After receiving this grant Morgan organized a party to explore the country of his supposed province, planned a survey of the same, laid out New Madrid, etc. In his letter he gives a full account of his proceedings and the obstacles that defeated his enterprise.

Letter from Miró:]

YOUR EXCELLENCY:

Although in the correspondence of the Brigadier, Don Jaime Wilkinson, in my last secret representation, number thirty-four, it spoke of a great extension of lands conceded to Colonel Morgan by Don Diego Guardoqui; and, although, in the memorial of Peter Paulus,[3] which I enclosed in a representation, also secret, number thirty-three, the same thing was expressed; and, although both assert that said Colonel Morgan has authority to sell those lands, not only did I suspend my judgment but also it seemed incredible to me that the abovesaid minister could have taken such authority. But the letter of the said Colonel, which I send under number one, and the copy to which I refer, written by a council composed of eight votes of his partisans, which Your Lordship will see in number two, show both circumstances, above expressed, to be true.

The conditions solicited in the memorial of Peter Paulus for establishing three thousand families presented the idea of governing themselves by themselves, forming in appearance a community in the midst of the dominions of His Majesty, with only the subjection of the oath of allegiance and being ready to take up arms in defense of this Province. The said Paulus exposed me to the reproaches which I made him of my surprise that he should have imagined such pretensions obtainable, and that he would not have dared to make them, if he had not been well instructed that Don Diego Guardoqui had conceded them to Colonel Morgan.

I also suspend my judgment in regard to the truth of this assertion, notwithstanding that it is indicated by letter number two, since there is no clause in it which expresses the least subordination to Spain although it is of the highest importance for them to show to the families whom they are endeavoring to attract the conditions under which the Spanish government would admit them.

In regard to that which touches the harm of permitting a foreign people to govern themselves in the dominions of His Majesty, and in a country so remote [from Spain] that it could be subjected and so near [to Nueva España] that they could penetrate into the Kingdom of Nueva España, I shall say nothing as that is so manifest. But since the concession of lands with powers to sell them may find reasons which may induce people to believe that it will facilitate the means of settling Luisiana, I shall set forth against it the two following reflections:

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[3] Peter Paulus was a German at this time about 50 years of age, who, induced by Gardoqui, proposed to bring a number of families from Pennsylvania to Louisiana.

First: It is evident that the families who are disposed to come to purchase lands, will come more rapidly if lands are given to them gratis, and could only prefer them in that manner [*i. e.*, by purchase] under the indicated conditions of governing themselves by themselves; but as it is not possible to concede that my reflection keeps its force.

Second: Experience has shown in this said Province that great concessions to one single individual have never produced the desired effect of populating it, since all the lands that the English gave for this purpose remained without effect because of the ambition of the proprietor. The same thing would happen with Colonel Morgan, with the sole difference that, by reason of the fermentation at present in the settlements of the Ohio to emigrate, I do not doubt that he would succeed in settling a few leagues of his extensive territory, but the greater part of it would remain uncultivated forever. Further, if, without the intervention of said Colonel, I could settle Luisiana, by infusing from this time a feeling of gratitude in the families by the concession of their lands gratis: what need is there of enriching that one [*i. e.*, Morgan] with the diminution of the property of those who can employ its amount [*i. e.*, the cost of lands] if they were bought in the development of those same settlements?

By the reply of Your Lordship to my secret representation, number thirteen, I believe myself authorized to establish a post in every six or seven leagues of the shore of a creek or river in which families may come to settle, which shall be reduced to a house for the Commandant, another for the lodging of a small detachment [of forces], that of the parish priest and church; and (as I have made evident in said representations) it is the only means of conserving tranquillity in the Province, of cementing the affections of the new colonists to the Spanish government, and of succeeding in obtaining that the second generation, not having known any other government, will have the affection which birth in the country will engender, and, lastly, that they may embrace the religion of the Sovereign, which is the principal thing.

Said expense is indispensable, as will also be in some places (where the Commandants cannot do it for themselves) the appointment of a surveyor with a salary so that he may measure the lands for each family. I conceive that to be very advantageous, in order to succeed in giving a good opinion of the generosity of the Spanish government.

In view of everything, when Colonel Morgan descends after being instructed concerning all his pretensions, I shall show him that I am unable to admit any settlement except under the circumstances already approved, but that, if he wishes to be employed in bringing people under these terms, I shall recommend him to His Majesty so that he may recompense him according to the merits which he contracts.

I find no other obstacle in the matter except that, if he has proceeded in good faith and under the authority conferred on him by Don Diego Guardoqui, he will petition indemnity for the expenses of his operations which will not be of small moment, however little he may enlarge them, although to the men who have accompanied him he may be able to meet their hopes by giving them land gratis.

The enclosed copy, number three, of the letter of Don Diego Guardoqui, in regard to this matter, will show Your Lordship the ambiguity and lack of clearness with which he writes me, keeping from me the conditions of the project of Colonel Morgan, telling me only that he has given consent to it on condition of the approval of His Majesty; that is, that he has given him permission to set to work immediately, giving him some hopes of the certainty that His Majesty could not do less than approve it.

I have not wished to defer giving these important notices to Your Excellency, which I shall repeat with greater assurance at the arrival of Colonel Morgan. Meanwhile Your Lordship will make that use of them which is most to your pleasure.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years. Nueva Orleans, May twenty, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine. Your Excellency.

Esteban Miró (rubric).

Addressed: "His Excellency, Bayllo Fray[3] Don Antonio Valdes."

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[3] *Bayllo Fray:* evidently for "*Bailio Frey*," a title signifying a professed knight and commander of the military order of St. John or Malta.

Letter from Morgan:]

Number 1.

Translation

Nuevo Madrid, April fourteen, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine.

SIR:

In accordance with the advices which Your Grace will doubtless have received from Don Diego Guardoqui, Minister of His Catholic Majesty, in the United States, I take the first opportunity to inform Your Lordship of my arrival at the Misisipi on the fourteenth of February, and of the progress of my undertaking thus far. They are also explained in the enclosed letter from the inhabitants who have accompanied me to their friends at Fort Pitt.[4] I beg Your Lordship to refer to that letter, hoping that whatever I have done and am continuing to do will merit the approval and protection of Your Lordship.

I propose to have the honor of presenting myself before Your Lordship in from four to six weeks, and giving Your Lordship at that time the necessary information on a matter which I communicated to Señor Guardoqui last January, and upon which I do not doubt that he will have written to Your Lordship. I have some hope that Your Lordship will see Colonel Connely in Nueva Orleans about the same time as myself.

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect Your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant.

JORGE MORGAN.

Addressed: "Don Esteban Miró, Governor-Intendant of the Province of Luisiana.

[*Endorsed:* "Esteban Miró" (rubric).]

Translation No. 2

NUEVO MADRID, April 14, 1789.

To Messrs. Turnbull and Company, Fort Pitt:

GENTLEMEN:

The inclemency of the season and the precautions necessary for the advantage and security of our party and undertaking greatly extended our voyage during our descent of the Ohio, although we had no accidents. Two months ago we reached the Misisipi, and have employed the greater part of this time in visiting the land from north of Cape *Cinq Hommes* to the south of this place, and to the west of the river San Francisco,[5] whose general course is parallel to that of the Misisipi, from which it is twenty or thirty miles distant.

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[4] See statement regarding this letter in matter in brackets below.

Colonel Morgan and nineteen other habitants undertook to explore the lands above or toward the north of the Ohio. This gave him the first opportunity to present his credentials to Don Manuel Perez, Lieutenant-Governor of Ylinoa; the latter received him and his companions with the greatest courtesy; and as soon as their project was known, it caused a general rejoicing among the habitants of all classes. Even the Indian inhabitants showed the greatest satisfaction in our coming, and our intention to settle. *There is no nation* or tribe of Indians which claims, or has a right to claim, one single foot of the land *conceded* to Colonel Morgan, a circumstance of great weight in favor of our settlement.

The above-mentioned Lieutenant-Governor supplied our party very willingly with whatever was necessary. Colonel Morgan asked him very particularly for horses and guides, in order to explore all the lands in the western limits, and those from the north to the south in the interior of the country.

In an undertaking of this nature, one cannot doubt that there must have been various opinions among us, with respect to the most advantageous location which it would be advisable to choose for the settlement of farmers. A considerable number of notable French families from the American part of Ylinoa, who propose to join us, tried to influence us in favor of a very fine location twelve leagues above the mouth of the Ohio, on the west bank ot the Misisipi.

A number of American farmers from Post Vincennes, and some others of our party, preferred the country opposite the mouth of the Ohio, one league inland from the Misisipi, which is reached by a creek emptying into that river on the western side at a distance of two and one-half or three miles above the Ohio. Others declared in favor of a very agreeable site and country where there is a . . harbor at the time of the highest water some nine miles below the above-mentioned mouth of the Ohio. But after considering all the circumstances maturely, and having entirely explored the country in its neighborhood, we have unanimously resolved to establish *our* new city above-mentioned with the date [of this letter] some twelve leagues below the above-mentioned Ohio, at the place formerly called *L'Ance la Graisse*, below the mouth of the river called Chepousea or Sound River in Captain Hutchins's map. Here the banks of the Misisipi, for a considerable distance, are high, dry, and delicious, and the territory west of the San Francisco River is of the most desirable quality for corn, tobacco, hemp, cotton, flax, and indigo, although according to the opinion of some, too rich for wheat, in such manner, that we truly believe that there is not a single arpent of uncultivable land, nor does it show any difference throughout the space of one thousand square miles. The country rises gradually from the Misisipi and is a fine, dry, agreeable, and healthful land, superior, we believe, in beauty and quality to those of any part of America.

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[5] St. François.

The limits of *our* new city of Madrid will extend about four miles south on the bank of the river, and two to the west of it, so that it is divided by a deep lake of the purest fresh water, 80 varas wide and many leagues long, running north and south and emptying by a constant and small current into the Misisipi, after flowing through the center of the city. The banks of this lake, which is called Santa Anna, are high, beautiful and pleasant; its waters are deep, clear, and fresh; its bottom is of clean sand, without logs, grass, or other vegetables; and it abounds in fish.

On each side of this fine lake, streets, one hundred feet broad, have been marked out, and a road of equal width about the same. Trees have been marked, which must be preserved for the health and recreation of the citizens.

Another street, one hundred and twenty feet wide, has been marked out on the bank of the Misisipi, and also the trees noted which must be kept for the above-mentioned objects.

Twelve acres have been kept in the center of the city for the purpose of a public park, whose plan and adornment the magistrates of the city will look after; and forty lots of one and one-half acres apiece, have been considered for those public works or uses which the citizens may request or the magistrate or chief order, and another twelve acres reserved for the disposition of the King. A ground-plot of one and one-half acres, and a lot of five acres, outside the city, will be given to each one of the first six hundred settlers.

Our surveyors are now working on the extensive plan and proving up the ground plots of the city and the outside lots, and measuring the lands into sections of 320 acres apiece, in addition to those which they choose for the settlement of the people who may come [here]. These portions and the conditions of the settlements are also in accordance with a plan universally satisfactory, which will avoid the interminable lawsuits which a different method has caused in other countries to the posterity of the first settlers.

We have constructed cabins and a storehouse for provisions, etc., and we are making gardens and clearing one hundred acres of land in the most beautiful meadow in the world, in order to sow corn, hemp, flax, cotton, tobacco, and potatoes.

The timber here is different in some kinds of trees from those in the central states of America. However, we have found white oak, high and straight, of extraordinary size, as well as black oak, mulberry, ash, white poplar, *persimmon*, and apples in abundance, and larger than those which we have hitherto seen. Also hickory, walnut, etc. The sassafras, very straight and of extraordinary size, is commonly 24 inches in diameter. The shrubs are principally cane and *spice-wood*.

The timbers unknown to you gentlemen, are the cypress, pecan, coffee[6] [*sic*], cucumber,[7] and some others. The cypress grows on the lowlands at the edge of the river; its quality is equal to that of white cedar. We have a fine grove of these trees in our neighborhood, which Colonel Morgan has had divided into shares of a suitable size, in order to assign them to each farm.

We are satisfied with the climate, and we have reason to congratulate ourselves that we have at last found a country which conforms to our most ardent desires.

Several French gentlemen of Santa Genoveva offered to guide Colonel Morgan or any other person, whom he might choose, to some iron and lead mines as good as the best in America, located one day's journey from the bank of the Misisipi and within the limit of this territory. It has been determined to reserve said mines for one or several persons with sufficient capital and intelligence to undertake their working.

It is said that there are several salt deposits in the country round about. As we have this information from trustworthy persons we believe it, but we have not visited them.

The banks of the Misisipi for many leagues, commencing at a distance of twenty odd miles above the Ohio, consist uninterruptedly of whetstones, but we, in this vicinity, have not found any at all.

We could mention other particulars which would be agreeable to our friends, but it requires more time to write and copy than we have left after our necessary occupations. However, we add that

[6] *Tymnocladus canadensis* — or Coffee tree — also known as the Kentucky coffee tree — a large tree, the seeds of which have been used as a substitute for coffee. This tree grows in rich and alluvial soil.

[7] *Magnolia acuminata* or *M. cordota* — from the size of the fruit; but not noted in the geological survey of Missouri or Agricultural Report of 1866.

it has been resolved to measure out one thousand farms, which will be in brief, for the settlement of all the families who will come here after next autumn. The months of September, October, November, December, and January are the most convenient for coming hither, because then the farmers can begin to plough their fields, and can continue working until Christmas.

After finishing the division, Colonel Morgan and Major McCully will go to New York by way of Nueva Orleans and Cuba. Colonel Shreeve and Captains Light and Taylor with all the others who are going to return immediately with their families will go up the Ohio when they can return, in order to make the journey from Fort Pitt to this place in the month of October.

Captain Hewling is in charge of a number of single men who are planting the 100 acres with corn, tobacco, cotton, flax, and hemp.

Colonel Morgan has supplied him with horses, ploughs, etc. He will be in condition to build a good house and mill against the time when his father and brothers arrive, which will be next autumn.

Since not one single person of us all here (and we are seventy persons) has been sick one single hour, and no misfortune has happened, but on the contrary, all of us are enjoying the most perfect health and are very greatly encouraged by the discovery of this fine climate and territory, we think it useless to mention any thing particular to you.

We are, gentlemen, your obedient and humble servants,

Juan Dodge[8] Juan Ward[9] Jaime Rhea[10]
Pedro Light Ysrael Shreve Jorge McKully
David Rankin Juan Stivart [Stewart?]

This is a true copy of the original, made by me in Nuevo Madrid, April 14, 1789.[11] Samuel Stillman, Jr.

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[8] Dodge was a native of Connecticut. In the West he was first engaged in business at Sandusky, where he was captured by the British and imprisoned at Detroit, whence he was sent to Quebec. Escaping from that place he afterward became acquainted with Washington and was recommended by him to Jefferson, who appointed him Indian agent. He was with Gen. George Rogers Clark, an officer in the Illinois Regiment, and held an important official position in the Kaskaskias after the capture of that place. He was deeply involved in the troubles that followed the conquest of the Illinois country there. For particulars, see Alvord's Introduction to vol. ii of the Illinois Historical Collections. From Kaskaskia he moved across the river to the Spanish possessions. He seems to have met Morgan when he explored the country and with him went to New Madrid. He died on the Saline in Ste. Genevieve county. Also see Houck's History of Missouri, vol. i, p. 365, ii, p. 284.

[9] A John Ward afterward made claim to property near Mobile, and may be the same person. There was also a John Ward at Creve Cœur.

[10] John Rhea was afterward on Pearl river in the Mississippi territory.

[11] This letter is retranslated from a letter translated into Spanish at New

Letter from Guardoqui:]

I enclose in this a duplicate of that which I had the satisfaction of writing to Your Lordship introducing to your protection Colonel Don Jorge Morgan. The latter laid before me after a few conferences a certain project for the formation of a new settlement on our western bank of the Misisipy river, south of Cape Cinque Hommes [*i. e.*, Five Men]. It seems to me to be for the most part in accordance with the orders of the King. I regarded it as admissible, provided it were approved by His Majesty. I promised to pay himt in the meanwhile, and to recommend him for that purpose to Your Lordship's favor.

The excellent qualities possessed by this person, and the proofs that he has given of truth, honor and talent have gained for him in these States great consideration and respect; but since he, as well as many other very respectable associates (at whose head he is), expected that Congress would settle on the alienation of a great territory which they had bought they have been frustrated and complain bitterly.

From the first information that I had, I tried to publish things [to come] that came to his ears, whereupon he came to me and made me the proposition of which I speak above.

Contemplating this acquisition as one of the most important in the service of the King, I conducted myself in terms which I believe will have effect; and having proposed to me that he desired to take advantage of the rainy season to explore the land and fix on the place for settlement, I thought it best to grant it and contribute to his expenses, for I was certain that the end merits it and that His Majesty will approve it.

In fact, the abovesaid Colonel set out. I also gave him a letter for anyone of the chiefs in command on that shore, the copy of which I enclose for Your Lordship's information.

I believe that if he concludes to present himself to Your Lordship you will find him of the fine qualities that I mention. For my own part, I confess ingenuously that I consider him a very important acquisition for us, and that he will be a zealous servant for the conservation of the exclusion of the navigation of that river [*i. e.*, the Mississippi] from all who are not His Majesty's vassals.

Madrid and transmitted to the Spanish officials, whence it found its way to Seville. It is fuller than the letter found in Walsh's Magazine, published in Philadelphia. The names attached are given as in the Spanish copy. I have not changed the spelling, leaving these names as all other proper names as found in the Spanish documents.

He is so considered by all who know him in this country who have regretted it [*i. e.*, his departure from the United States] very greatly, leading away many thousands under his protection; and his knowledge and trade of many years with various tribes of Indians can be most useful to our considerations.

Consequently, recommending this person particularly to Your Lordship's favor, I conclude, begging God to preserve Your Lordship many years. Nueva York, October 4, 1788.

DIEGO DE GUARDOQUI.

Addressed: "Don Esteban Miró."

[*Endorsed:* "Esteban Miró" (rubric).]

LIV

LETTER OF COLONEL GEORGE MORGAN TO DON DIEGO DE GARDOQUI — 1789.

Copy in the Library of Congress copied from the original in the handwriting of Colonel George Morgan.

Prospect, New Jersey, August 20th, 1789.

DEAR SIR:

Having completed the service proposed by the arrangements we entered into last September for the purpose of seeking out a country and situation within his most Catholic Majesty's territory on the west side of the Mississippi, suitable for a colony of sober, industrious farmers and mechanics from whence his Majesty might derive certain great advantages, it becomes my duty to give you a full relation of my proceedings in this business, and my observations on such matters as may serve to promote his Majesty's gracious intentions and the interest of his government and subjects.

Influenced by the advice of some friends, who were anxious for my safety and the success of my undertaking, I was induced to enter into certain engagements with several gentlemen, farmers, tradesmen, etc., to induce them to accompany me to visit and explore the country proposed to be settled, in order that at our return home their joint testimony agreeing with my own, in favor of the situation, soil, climate, natural productions, etc., might have due weight on the minds of the good people who wish to form a respectable settlement within his Majesty's territory, and to become his subjects on the terms which I have had the honor to propose, or such as his Majesty might be pleased to grant reconcilable to their ideas of happiness.

The same reasons induced me to accept the offers of a number of industrious workmen who could not afford to leave their families and employments without receiving wages from me for the time they might be engaged with me in visiting and exploring the country and especially, too, as it was necessary that every man should be well armed and place himself in a great measure under my command and military discipline for security against the savages.

Prudence also dictated a measure which I found a very useful one. Being well known to the western and north-western nations of Indians who on all occasions have reposed great confidence in me, I applied to their united Council at Muskingum, informed them of my business to the Mississippi and desired them to appoint two of their Wise Men to accompany me to bear witness of my errand and conduct, and to report to the Council all my proceedings.[1] This I did in order to prevent any evils which might arise from their jealousies, or from the evil reports which I supposed interested or bad people might endeavor to impress on their minds. My application had more than the desired effect, for instead of two, they appointed ten deputies from five different Nations to accompany me, and to bring me back through any Nations or Towns I might wish to visit. To this measure they added strings and belts of wampum, and sent speeches to all such Indian Nations as it was probable I might meet on my way to, whilst at, or on my return from his Majesty's territory on the Mississippi. This and the character I had acquired amongst all the nations for being a man of truth, and their friend, contributed not only to my security, but made my undertaking easy and pleasant, amidst the extremes of frost, snow, and marches, which otherwise would have been dangerous, disagreeable and fatiguing. But it was more expensive than I could have wished; for this was unavoidable without offending the Council by refusing the number their politeness and friendship imposed upon me.

I have, nevertheless, the satisfaction to think, and indeed to know, that this transaction has given me an opportunity to impress upon the minds of the different nations, ideas of his Majesty's dignity and good disposition towards them, which will not be easily effaced, notwithstanding the practices of certain Agents. Insomuch that it will not be a difficult matter to secure their attachment effectively, even so far as to transplant them from one situation to another should such a measure be thought polite or advisable.

The advantages which I knew might result from a circuitous tour through the German settlements in Pennsylvania induced me to that measure in my route to Pittsburg last fall. These people have been a valuable acquisition to America, and I find great numbers who pay high rents for land, extremely desirous to embark with me; and numbers who have small farms of their own, wish, in the same way, to provide for their children. A greater number of these than I expected to meet with are Catholics; ten of them accompanied me to visit the country, are much pleased with it, and have made report to their friends accordingly; they all wait now with anxiety to hear from me.

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[1] He was appointed Western Indian agent by Congress in 1776 — and acted as such during the Revolutionary war. From the Delawares Morgan received the name "Tamanend" — meaning "The Affable" — the highest honor they could confer. The name also of the chief who first signed a deed to land to William Penn in 1692 claimed by the Delawares in the words of the deed "since the beginning of the world." For further particulars as to Col. Geo. Morgan see Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 108 et seq.

In my way down the Ohio, I halted in several settlements and particularly at Louisville, in Kentucky, but the severity of the season, and the necessary attention to my company, placed it out of my power to visit Lexington and Danville; nevertheless, I had several good opportunities to impress upon the minds of the people their true interest. The best men there had long viewed their situation in a proper light, and treated General Wilkinsons scheme and threats of force to open the passage of the Mississippi as highly impertinent, although they supposed it had answered his purpose from the contract and partnership he had entered into at New Orleans.

This contract has very justly alarmed and dissatisfied his Majesty's subjects on the Mississippi, and if not put a stop to, will be very injurious to them, and consequently to his Majesty's gracious intentions to promote the interests of his own subjects in a peculiar manner. Fortunately, for them, indeed, the inability of General Wilkinson to fulfil his contract, proceeding from his manner of doing business, has hitherto defeated the ill effects in a very great measure.

I found, too, that the attempts of Colonel Connolly have not been listened to, agreeable to his expectations; nevertheless, he had reasons given to him to hope that his propositions might take effect in case of a separation of that District from the United States, from Congress neglecting to take up the business of a free navigation of the Mississippi, or from any other cause. And more especially in case of a war between Spain and Britain, should the former refuse to acknowledge the right or grant it on mutually advantageous terms. Notwithstanding this wise and pacific disposition in the best inhabitants of the Ohio country, I am verily persuaded that nothing was more desirable to the majority of the people than Col. Connolly's propositions would have been, had they not been advertised, by some means of his Majesty's gracious intentions in all respects, and of the advantages which they might expect from the proposed settlement opposite to the mouth of the Ohio.

The idea which I held out to them of perfect freedom in religious matters, and advantages in trade which they never before thought possible, will make converts of the whole country, and some indulgences as nearly conformable to my former propositions as possible will establish the interests of the King and of the Spanish nation beyond all comparison.

As my letters from Pittsburg and a copy of one from Col. Connolly,[2] informed you fully of that gentleman being an emissary from the British government to create new enemies to Spain, I shall only mention that I remain possessed of the original letter of which I sent you a copy, and that the original is at your service if you require it. If that gentleman had not met with an accident on his return from Kentucky to Detroit, from whence he was to make his report to Lord Dorchester, I am persuaded I should have seen him at New Orleans on a visit to ascertain the disposition of the French inhabitants there, and the strength of his Majesty's posts and forces in the country.

I met however with a British half-pay officer, whom Col. Connolly had before employed in carrying letters from Detroit to the Ohio settlements, and had accompanied him through Kentucky on his late errand. This half-pay officer communicated to me (from not knowing who I was) the whole of Connolly's designs. It is unnecessary to say how I drew this communication from him. I have not the least doubt that this officer was employed by Connolly to visit New Orleans, &c., although no person there knew him to be a British officer except the Governor Miro and myself, as he appeared only in the character of a common Kentucky man, who wanted to view the country. His name is McGinnis, and is, I think, by birth a Scotsman. I *left him at New Orleans*, and Governor Miro had no doubt directed an eye to observe him.

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[2] Dr. (Col.) John Connelly, a native of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, a nephew of George Croghan, educated as a physician. In 1770 he was interested in land claims in the disputed territory at the Forks of the Ohio, a territory then claimed by both Virginia and Pennsylvania. At that time he was in the service of Lord Dunmore, and met Washington on his tour to the Ohio, who dined with him, and says that "he was a very sensible and intelligent man." In 1774 he gave the Pennsylvania authorities a great deal of trouble. When the Revolutionary War began he was a loyalist, went to Boston, met Gen. Gage, and was commissioned by him to enlist the white frontier people and Indians in a regiment to be called the Loyal Forresters, of which regiment he was appointed lieutenant colonel. On his way to Pittsburgh he was arrested and his papers searched and after that held in prison for five years, all of which he records in a narrative published in 1783 in London. In 1773 Lord Dunmore granted him two thousand acres at the Falls of the Ohio, where Louisville now stands, but the war and his imprisonment nullified this grant. In 1788 we find him at Detroit, then in the employ of Lord Dorchester and engaged in an intrigue to separate the people of Kentucky from the eastern states, by holding out a promise to capture New Orleans and Louisiana with the aid of the British. In 1796 he was again on the Ohio, carefully exploring the river and in that year was arrested at Fort Massac and his papers searched, but was not detained. He was a restless and indefatigable spirit.

Having been confidentially employed by you, to promote the harmony and peace of society, and his Majesty's interests, it may not be impertinent, now I am upon this subject, to give my opinion, formed from due observation and a knowledge of the people and of facts.

1st. That Col. Connolly will not be the only or last emissary employed to stir up the people of Kentucky to make some rash attempt against New Orleans.

2nd. That all his and their attempts will be fruitless should Kentucky be gratified by being taken into the Federal Union, because in that case the United States must be answerable for her conduct and therefore would take the necessary measures for preventing trespass on the rights of Spain.

3rd. But should the party who have been aiming at a total separation from the United States prevail, their expectations and demands on the Spanish trade will daily increase and become unlimited, to the great injury of his Majesty's own settlements, and without any national benefit.

4th. In regard to the practicability of an enterprise against New Orleans, I am fully satisfied, and I know it to be the general opinion, that within ten days, a sufficient force might be embodied, equipped, and be embarked with every necessary, and take possession of New Orleans, and the shipping of every port in the country before any notice could arrive of such a measure being in agitation; and that all attempts to give such information might easily be interrupted.

5th. That no number of troops in the present situation of Louisiana could prevent a successful invasion of it with the current — but on the contrary a very small force is sufficient to defend it from all invasions by sea.

I was on board Genl. O'Reily's fleet when he ascended the Mississippi and took possession of New Orleans. Two hundred men, having the approbation of the country could have burned that fleet and defeated the expedition. The Mississippi is in no part one mile wide from the Balize upward, and in general but 900 yards.

Its current is so rapid as to require, frequently, thirty days to ascend thirty leagues to New Orleans.

6th. From these circumstances, I conclude that whatever power may possess the entrance of the Mississippi, it will be wise in that power to cultivate and promote settlements of her own citizens, to the greatest possible extent, on the banks of the Mississippi, from the Missouri river downward; and to establish such governments as to be desirable for the subject to live in.

7th. I am of opinion that by adopting this policy his Majesty has laid the foundation stone of a lasting empire over the whole country, and there can be no doubt but the superstructure will be answerable thereto.

8th. If the crown of Spain ever loses her empire over the Mississippi, it will proceed from one of two causes or both: 1st, the union of the Legislative, Judicial and Executive powers, in an avaricious, ignorant, indolent, rash, imprudent, or despotic Governor, deputy Governor or Commandant, who from the distance from the means of redress, or from the throne, may be tempted by his ruling passion, or caprice, to oppress the King's subjects; or, 2nd, the oppression arising from an unwise system of trade: I beg leave to give a single example — Upon the present system, his Majesty's subjects high up the Mississippi cannot supply themselves with a blanket, or a yard of cloth, for less than six dollars, which by contraband, they may have for two dollars! What advantage can arise to the nation, or to his Majesty from such a system as this? What mischiefs may not arise from it?

9th. From the wise policy which it appears evident his Majesty has been graciously pleased to adopt, I am of the opinion, that if it is pursued, his subjects on the Mississippi will be as happy a people as on the earth, and that the advantages which will soon arise from these upper settlements will bring more treasure into his Majesty's coffers and contribute more to the National strength of his Empire than the mines of Mexico and Peru do at present.

In the circuit I have lately made through Louisiana and West Florida, I have been witness and informed of several great abuses of power, which I am sure were not authorized by his Majesty, as they are extremely injurious to his interest and to the National honor. But as it was no part of my business to make observations of this nature, it is not my duty to point out particulars. I therefore proceed in my narrative.

It was the 14th of February before I reached the Mississippi river. Here I met with a party of twenty Delaware Indians encamped directly opposite the mouth of the Ohio. I halted my party, and crossed over to them with four of my Indians. The meeting was aggreeable on both sides. They agreed to remove with me a few miles to good hunting grounds and to continue there with forty of my men, whilst I should proceed to his Majesty's Post at St. Louis, two hundred miles higher up the Mississippi, in order to deliver your letter to Don Manuel Perez, commanding at the Illinois, informing him of my business, &c. And I sent a messenger to the Delaware Chief desiring him to come with his family and join my party, left as above mentioned near to the mouth of the Ohio river, until my return, which I promised to do within twenty days.

In ascending the Mississippi, I was interrupted by violent storms of snow and severe frosts which filled the river with ice so as to oblige me to lay by and especially as the river, some leagues higher up had been frozen over all winter, and was now sufficiently strong for large gangs of buffaloe to cross it on the ice. I therefore dispatched two messengers to inform my party of these circumstances, and to desire the Indian chiefs to conduct my party to their town on Chepousa river, twelve leagues below the mouth of the Ohio, and to take charge of them until my arrival. This they faithfully executed.

The continuance of the snow-storms and frosts induced me to prosecute my route through the woods by land as far as Kaskaskia; there I hired a carriage and horses for my party and proceeded to St. Louis, where Don Manuel Perez received and treated us with great politeness. He also furnished me with horses, guides and provisions for my party to visit the interior country, which we found to be superior to every other part of North America we had seen,—and is attended with many advantages which even the fine lands in Kentucky are deprived of; yet the annual innundation of the borders of the river has given a very different idea of it to most people because they have been uninformed of the beauties and advantages of the higher grounds which are more or less distant from the bed or current of the river according to its sinuosities.

After my junction with my party at Chepousa or St. Johns river, we determined to lay out the proposed city on the lower side of it, and extending down the Mississippi, and along its banks as mentioned in the letter written from thence by a committee of my party intended as a circular to their friends, to give them an account of the country and of our proceedings. One of these letters signed by the parties, dated from New Madrid, the 14th of last April, being forwarded to you from thence, I beg leave to refer you to it for full information of every necessary particular until the date thereof.

As a part of the duty of my undertaking requires it, so I think this is the proper place to mention that the point of land on the west side of the Mississippi directly opposite to the Ohio river is the most important spot in his Majesty's North American dominions both in a military and a commercial view. I have examined it in these respects during the highest floods, and you may be assured that a post may be established here which may permanently command the navigation of both rivers, neither of which is more than 950 yards broad at the highest flood; and no other spot can be found on either side of either river, where these purposes can be answered. It would give me great pleasure to be authorized to undertake and to accomplish what inattention or ignorance, or both, have declared to be impossible. What Mr. Jefferson's views are for asserting, in his notes upon Virginia, that the Mississippi is here several leagues wide, I never could comprehend; because I know he had better information.

This point joins on the river, and does not crumble or fall in, as is common in the curved or concave bends of it.[3]

From this point to the highlands a good wagon road may be made passable at all seasons of the year, except during high floods, without a cause-way; and by means of a cause-way (which may be easily made, as the materials are on the spot) a good wagon road may be made, and easily supported during the highest floods. In a due west line from this point is the most beautiful and best part of the whole country, to which there is access by water also, through an inlet which forms a communication with the Mississippi, two and a half miles above the point. At high water, vessels carrying five hundred barrels of flour may be laden at the highlands, and brought into the Mississippi from or through this inlet, and from thence down the river to New Orleans. The inlet from the Mississippi may be ascended with equal ease.

The spot or point of land opposite to the mouth of the Ohio would be exceedingly advantageous, and most proper as an entrepôt on staple for the trade of Kentucky, and all the future American settlements on the Ohio. This would render the navigation of the Mississippi perfectly unnecessary or indifferent to the United States and his Majesty's new subjects would soon be sufficient in numbers and capital to transact all the business of this country; the advantages whereof would soon draw the attention of the merchants of old and new Spain to the great emolument of his Majesty's coffers from the simple duty of five per cent on imports, or exports to foreign markets, as I take it for granted care ought to be had that this trade should not interfere with the productions of his Majesty's own dominions,— for this would not promote but effectually check his Majesty's wishes to settle his own territory on the west side of the Mississippi, and at Natchez, &c — for it is an undisputable fact that should the American States be indulged (as they now are, and have been these six or nine months past) with a free trade down the Mississippi on paying a duty of fifteen per cent only, few emigrants worth having will be obtained from hence. Therefore the produce of the Ohio and Kentucky countries brought into his Majesty's dominions, should be bonded for exportation to foreign countries, within a limited time.

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[3] It is interesting to note that the river now at this place, known as "Bird's Point," is about two miles wide. The river bank here, too, has crumbled or washed away several miles since the first settlement of the country.

If I do not speak to be fully comprehended, I shall be glad to have any questions proposed to me which you shall think proper.

It is twenty years since I visited his Majesty's settlements in the Illinois country before last winter, and I have been now astonished to see the same indolence prevail as heretofore, and that there is no advance made there in agriculture or population. By consulting Capt. Hutchins' account of that country written in the year 1769 you will find their present numbers do not exceed what they were then:[4] whereas, at that time there was not a single farm settled on the waters of the Ohio; and now in Kentucky alone you will find more than one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants — a number which would be esteemed a great acquisition to any nation.

As you are perfectly instructed in regard to the advantages derivable by the King and nation from the proposed settlements on the

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[4] This book is probably the following, which was printed in London for Thomas Hutchins, in 1778: A Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina, comprehending the rivers Ohio, Kenhawa, Sioto, Cherokee, Wabash, Illinois, Mississippi, etc. . . . With an appendix containing . . . Patrick Kennedy's Journal up the Illinois river, and a . . . list of the . . . nations and tribes of Indians . . . published at London in 1778. Recently reprinted by the Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, Ohio.

Mississippi, I shall proceed further in the narrative of my transactions.

Having satisfied ourselves as mentioned in the committee's letter dated the 14th of April in regard to the situation, soil, climate, &c, I caused surveys to be made of the country and divided it into farms of three hundred and twenty acres each, sufficient for three hundred and fifty families, and ventured to parcel them out to the party who accompanied me for themselves and their friends — 320 acres to each on condition of settlement on or before the 1st day of next May, and taking the oath of allegiance to his most Catholic Majesty, and his successors, whenever thereunto required, and paying the sum of forty-eight Mexican dollars with interest for each three hundred and twenty acres if demanded; but I neither required, nor would I receive, any payment in advance until I might be duly authorized. Upon these conditions I have reason to believe an accession of one thousand families at least might be annually obtained free of all expense to his Majesty, except perhaps a small advance or loan for two or three years to certain poor industrious families who might stand in need of some assistance at first. Yet this need not amount to more than ten thousand dollars each year to be repaid with ample interest, gratitude and attachment.

You must have observed, at least heard of, the extraordinary reports respecting my errand to the Mississippi. By some people I was reported to have a large grant of land, and made one of his Majesty's Governors on the Mississippi; by others it was reported I was sent to encourage emigration from the United States, and that I had orders to grant lands and distribute livestock, provisions, farming utensils, &c, &c, to all applicants. It was impossible for me to forsee or prevent these reports, and they had the effect to bring many after me who would have suffered had I not assumed the appropriate lots and farms for them to plant upon immediately, and made provision for their support until they could make crops of corn. This I did by purchasing a quantity of pork at the Illinois, and flour from Messrs. Blaine & Wilkie. Also fifty odd barrels of the latter from an agent of Mr. Turnbull, who agreed to accept such prices as Mr. Turnbull and myself might hereafter agree upon. Indeed, I had stood in need of considerable part of this for my own people.

An account of all these expenditures, I herewith lay before you, without pretending to any right of compensation further than you have already been pleased to advance, unless you shall be satisfied the importance of my services may entitle me to his Majesty's favor. I only take the liberty to mention that the common surveying fees, for the like number of farms of 320 acres each, in any other part of his Majesty's provinces of Louisiana or West Florida, would amount to double the expense or amount of my whole expenditure now produced to you. Furthermore, I do not ask a reimbursement of these expenditures should his Majesty be pleased to agree to my propositions of settlement as handed to you on the [*blank*] day of last September. On the contrary I hold myself liable to refund to his Majesty the sums you have been pleased to advance to enable me, at his Majesty's expense, to perform the services you required, provided his majesty shall be graciously pleased to accept propositions then made.

In the meantime, confident of your honor and justice, I submit wholly to you the accounts now exhibited, and more especially as my zeal to promote his Majesty's service has led me beyond the expenses you had an idea of, and indeed beyond my own expectations.

In regard to a compensation for my time and services, I take the liberty to say they are the same as contained in my former proposition on that head, subject to his Majesty's correction. And it is a duty I owe to my own character and to his Majesty from the confidence which has been reposed in me, to say that the partial adoption only of my enterprise by his Excellency, Governor Miro, his apparent displeasure at the steps you had taken to promote settlements of so great consequence to his Majesty's interest, his extreme anxiety to be thought the first proposer and promoter of the settlement opposite the Ohio, and his appointment of a young French officer[5] to the command and government of the infant settlement, may, and I believe will, in a great measure defeat the expectations which you had so justly formed from the measures you had recommended. Nothwithstanding the commissions and instructions which the Governor was pleased to give me, copies whereof I annex hereto,— I sincerely believe that the young French gentleman, who is appointed to the command and government of New Madrid, has real merit as a gentleman and an officer; but I cannot believe that his being a trader will tend to promote his Majesty's service in any respect; on the contrary, I believe it will be attended with very pernicious consequences and retard the settlement. I do not think, sir, that any officer in pay of his Majesty as commandant of a post or governor of a settlement should dishonor his King's Commission by being a trader; besides, as he has the power and the opportunity, so he may be tempted to enter into a competition with and injure other traders; and it cannot be supposed that such an one can have either knowledge or experience equal to the present undertaking, whatever his ability may be, and especially as he does not speak a word of the English language, nor has ever been in the country. His appointment merely to build a Fort, command the troops, and to deal with the Indians might have been highly useful, and would have been perfectly agreeable to me and those connected with me, but no further.

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[5] Don Pedro Foucher.

I wish to be candid, sir, but not to give offence. The trust reposed in me, and the importance of my undertaking to the King's service, however, induce me to say that I do not believe his Excellency, Governor Miro, is possessed of the necessary ideas respecting the object his Majesty has in vew; and his warmth of temper and passions prevent his obtaining the knowledge and information requisite to his station. His copartnership with General Wilkinson has been exceedingly injurious to his Majesty's colony, and will, I fear, be attended with more very inconvenient consequences. His warmth on the liberty we took in calling the proposed settlement *New Madrid*, treating it as highly criminal, instead of viewing it in the light we meant it, viz., to show our determined resolution to become subjects of the King, and our respect and attachment to the Nation; and the offence he took at the mention of *Our City* in the circular letter, are proofs to me that his mind does not embrace the objects which his Majesty appears to have in view.

It is scarcely possible for you to conceive the warmth of resentment with which he expressed himself on your having listened to my propositions at any rate, for he really did not understand them; nor did he condescend to ask a single explanation of them, nor of any part, but has been extremely pointed in his aversion to freedom in religious matters, but he gradually cooled and softened down to the temper which produced the two commissions and instructions annexed. At parting, he gave me the letter I have had the honor to forward to you in which he informed me he had warmly recommended me to you.

If the acquisition of eight or ten thousand industrious subjects by your or by my means is desirable to his Majesty, I cannot but think the Governor ought not to have discovered jealousy or displeasure at names or straws; as a gentleman he might have proposed an alteration to avoid giving offence to his Majesty, where only respect was intended.

I would not trouble you with these particulars, were I not apprehensive that my zeal and ignorance might be imputed to you as a crime, should any representations be made to his Majesty on this subject. The whole censure, if any is justly due, ought to fall on me.

All those who went down with me on wages, to see the country, agreed to take lands for payment if they liked or approved of it. In consequence of their appropriation they made written applications to me each for three hundred and twenty acres, agreeing therein to pay forty-eight Mexican dollars for their respective tracts, and to settle thereon against the first day of next May. Upon these conditions, and that of taking the oath of allegiance to his Majesty, I assigned to each applicant his respective portion. The surveyors also agreed to take the principal part of their pay in lands for themselves and their friends on the same terms. This would have greatly lessened the expense I have been at, or at least secured repayment thereof, had not Governor Miro expressly forbid all sales, preferring the mode of free gift from his Majesty. Hence I remain indebted to these surveyors, &c, in the sum of [*blank*] dollars, as you will observe by the accts. I intended to have brought and to have delivered to you the written applications and obligations for the lands as above mentioned, but his Excellency, Governor Miro, required them from me, and I delivered and left them with him. These, with others delivered to the Governor for lands I had agreed to sell to other persons on the same conditions, would repay the whole expense I have been at on every account, and should his Majesty approve of the measure, may yet answer that purpose. In the meantime, my dependence is on your goodness to enable me to comply with my engagements.

Now that I am on this subject, I think it necessary to mention that holding up the idea of giving lands as an encouragement to gain settlers appears to me to have a bad effect, and is no inducement, but to the extremely poor and indigent, who not having the means of improvement can barely support themselves for several years. I wish the trial to be made in the proposed settlement of New Madrid — whilst grants at Natchez, Illinois, &c, &c, are made gratis. It is an experiment worth making for if it succeeds to my expectations the immense tracts of his Majesty's waste lands in America will be a Peruvian mine to him.

Besides, sir, what his Majesty has been graciously pleased to direct shall be his free gift, turns out otherwise; for the fees to the various Departments, I find, amount to near the sum I proposed, and in some cases to more, independent of the tedious mode adopted in granting lands. I mention these circumstances as facts I have well ascertained; and I mentioned them to Governor Gayaso, who I dare say will make an alteration at the Natchez in this respect.

I suppose there are eight hundred millions of acres of land on the Mississippi and its waters which his Majesty might sell on an average of one eighth of a dollar per acre free of all charge. Yet this acquisition is nothing comparable to the advantages derivable of the subjects who would populate the lands. And so wise a Prince will no doubt lay a foundation for the peopling thereof under the best regulations possible, and not leave it to chance, or to desperate men.

And I am persuaded that the means which I have had the honor to recommend in forming the settlement of New Madrid will secure and perpetuate the peace and tranquillity of his Majesty's government, and western dominions, and this has been my principal object.

I have now only to add, that I hold myself ready to proceed in this business, with your approbation, upon Governor Miro's plan, until his Majesty may be graciously pleased to give further instructions; or, if you have no objection, I will repair to Madrid to wait such orders as his Majesty may think proper to give,— but I think my immediate attention to the gentlemen, &c, who wish to become settlers at New Madrid, and my presence to conduct the settlement, of much the most importance, provided I am enabled to speak and act with certainty, and especially as you are so perfectly acquainted not only with the importance of the object but with the best means of conducting it for his Majesty's interest.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, Dr. Sir, Your most obt. and most humble servt., &c, GEORGE MORGAN.

P. S.— Be pleased to consider my letters of the 3rd & 16th instants as part of this Report to you.

MORGAN'S GENERAL DIRECTIONS FOR SURVEY, SETTLEMENT AND GOVERNMENT OF HIS COLONY — INCLUDING PLAN OF NEW MADRID

After the first meridional line is fixed, the East and West lines only shall be run; except where new meridional lines shall be necessary; and then, exactly five miles distant from the preceeding, from which new off-sets are to be made, to run the East and West ranges; all of which shall be first extended to the River; then, west to the main branch of the river St. Francis. The first meridional line shall be run from the middle range at —— miles distant from the bank of the Mississsippi; the second meridional line shall be five miles more westerly; and so on, without allowance. All the East and West ranges shall be axactly at two miles apart without any allowance. In running the East and West lines or ranges, a post must be erected at the place of departure on the meridional line, and the bearings of some remarkable tree taken, measuring the distance of it from the post; blazing the tree opposite the post, and marking it under the blaze one notch. All lines or ranges shall be strongly marked by blazes on three sides, viz.: In the east and west ranges the east and west sides of the tree must be blazed strongly and smooth, so as not to injure the trees, and a slight blaze on the side next the line.

All trees found to be directly in the line, must be notched thrice, about five feet from the ground.

Before any line shall be run, every instrument shall be compared with and rectified to a standard; so in the like manner shall the chains be regulated, and no allowance shall be made in measure. Each surveyor, in his field book, shall rule columns as annexed, and shall therein note the distances run; and all mountains, hills, valleys, bottom-lands, timber trees, quality of the soil, for what best adapted, rivers, brooks and springs, salt, fresh, or mineral; salt licks, minerals of iron, copper, lead or coal, and all appearances of rock and stone, and the quality thereof, whether free stone, lime stone, flint, marble, or other nature; and all mill-seats that shall come to his knowledge; courses of the mountains, ridges, hills, valleys, rivers, brooks and springs; noting also all other remarkable and permanent things, over or near to which the lines or ranges shall pass; and each surveyor is requested to preserve or make a drawing of every kind of beast, bird, fish or insect, he may kill or see in the country; and to note the kind of trees, shrubs, vines, plants, &c, &c, which may come under his view; and make a drawing of all those which are not common in Pennsylvania, noting the dimensions, flower, foliage, bark, fruit, &c, and their qualities, which may come to his knowledge or information.[*]

[*] Morgan's plan for the survey of the lands of his supposed colony is highly

Should any surveyor be found to run his lines or ranges without proper exactitude, or to measure them inaccurately, or to neglect marking the lines as directed, or to misrepresent the soil, rivers, brooks or other essential matters, he shall be dismissed the service, on full proof of such deficiencies or either of them.

Each surveyor shall have his choice of any one tract of land in either of the ranges he shall run, after Colonel Israel Shreeve has made choice of a district, not exceeding forty square miles; and if all of them shall choose to be in the same range, they shall draw lots for choice or preference, after the surveyor of the district, and the surveyor of the range, shall have declared their option, which shall be made in writing, and be given to the Secretary or his Deputy, in due season. Colonel Israel Shreeve is to have preference of any district not exceeding forty square miles for himself and his associates, of which he is to have the sole distribution. After Colonel Shreeve shall have declared his option in writing to the Secretary, or his Deputy, and the surveyors present have made theirs, Mr. Peter Light is to make his choice or election of forty square miles for himself, and Colonel Christopher Hays[7] and their associates in like manner. All these elections shall be made in writing, and delivered to the Secretary or his Deputy, in due season, or other elections or locations shall have the preference. Cols. Shreeve &c shall have one city and one out lot, gratis, for each farm, paying one dollar only for each patent.

Should any or all the gentlemen surveyors agree to take up one or more tracts of forty square miles each, for themselves and their associates, whom they may take in, at their pleasure, they shall be entitled to do so in the order they give in their names; and shall have the prior right to make choice of their lands and situation.

The declaration or application for any tract of land shall be made in the following words, or to the following effect, viz.:

NEW MADRID, —— 1789.

SIR: I desire you will reserve for me and my associates, ——

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interesting, because in 1796 it was in effect adopted by the United States in making a survey of the lands north of the Ohio. The second section of the act follows the exact words of Morgan's instructions. "Every surveyor shall note in his field book the true situations of all mines, saltlicks, salt springs and millseats, which shall come to his knowledge." In fact the whole system of a rectangular survey of the public lands as developed in the act can be traced to Morgan's plan of surveying the lands of his supposed colony as outlined in these instructions.

[7] As to Col. Christopher Hays, see Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 392.

square miles of land, bounded as follows, viz.: beginning at farm No. —— in the —— range of the —— district, including the said farm; thence, west along the said range, to farm No. —— including the same; thence, north to farm No. —— including the same; thence, east to farm No. —— including the same; thence, south to farm No. —— at the place of beginning, for which I engage to pay you, your heirs or assigns, ninety-six Mexican dollars for each square mile, on receiving a patent for each farm.

Witness my hand ———————— A. B.
To Colonel George Morgan.

Such of the surveyors as shall apply in the manner above mentioned, shall be entitled to sell the farms they so apply for, to such persons, and at such prices as they shall think proper; and they shall moreover be entitled to one city lot and one out lot, gratis, for each farm they so engage, paying one dollar for each patent. Any hunter, chain carrier, marker, horse master or other attendant on the gentlemen surveyors, shall (on due application) be entitled to a single tract of land in any district or range, in the order they give in their names to me; that is to say, the first applier has the preference in any range he is assistant in running, provided the same is not pre-engaged as above mentioned.

Next to these, all persons going down in my employment, either as artificers or laborers, shall have one farm each on due application.

The first six hundred persons applying for city and out lots, who shall build and reside thereon one whole year, or place a family who shall so reside, shall have one city lot of half an acre, and one out lot of five acres, gratis; paying only one dollar for each patent. All other city and out lots shall be reserved for sale, to future applicants according to their value. In the choice of the city and out lots the first applicant shall have the first choice of each; the second applicant shall have the second, and so on. Forty lots of half an acre each shall be reserved for public uses, and shall be applied to such purposes as the citizens shall from time to time recommend, or the chief magistrate appoint; taking care that the same be so distributed in the different parts of the city that their uses may be general, and as equal as possible. There shall be two lots of twelve acres each laid out and reserved forever; viz.: one for the King, and one for public walks, to be ornamented, improved and regulated by or under the direction of the chief magistrate of the city, for the time being, for the use and amusement of the citizens and strangers. So soon as these lots shall be laid off, the timber, trees and shrubs, now growing thereon, shall be religiously preserved as sacred; and no part thereof shall be violated or cut down, but by the personal direction and inspection of the chief magistrate for the time being, whose reputation must be answerable for an honorable and generous discharge of this trust, meant to promote the health and pleasure of the citizens. There shall be a reserve of one acre at each angle of every intersection of public roads or highways, throughout the whole territory, according to the plan laid down for settlement of the country; by which means, no farm house can be more than two miles and a half from one of these reserves, which are made forever for the following uses, viz.: one acre on the north east angle for the use of a school; one acre on the northwest angle for a church; one acre on the southwest angle for the use of the poor of the district, and the remaining angle in the south east angle for the use of the King.

In laying out the city, all streets shall be at right angles and four rods wide, including the foot-paths on each side, which shall be fifteen feet wide, and shall be raised twelve of fifteen inches above the wagon road. No person shall be allowed to encroach on the foot-paths, with either porch, cellar door, or other obstruction to passengers.

All the oblongs, or squares of the city, shall be of the same dimensions, if possible; viz.: extending from east to west eighty rods or perches, and from north to south twelve perches, so that each oblong or square will contain six acres, which shall be sub-divided by meridian lines, into twelve lots of half an acre each; by this means every lot will have at least two fronts, and the end lots will have three fronts. The lots shall be numbered from No. 1 upward, on each side of every street; extending from east to west; commencing at the east end.

The streets shall be distinguished by names in the following manner: the middle street shall be a continuation of the middle range or road, extending from the first meridional line to the Mississippi river, and shall be called King street; and the streets north of this, extending from east to west, shall be called first North street, second North street, and so on, reckoning from King's street or middle street. In like manner all the streets south of Kings street or middle street, extending from east to west, shall be called first South street, second South street, and so on, reckoning from King street;

so also, all the streets extending North and South shall be distinguished by the names of first River street, second River street, and so on; reckoning the space between the eastmost squares and the river, as first or front River street.

The space between the eastmost squares and the river, shall not be less than one hundred feet at any place, from the present margin or bank of the river, to be kept open forever for the security, pleasure and health of the city, and its inhabitants; wherefore religious care shall be taken to preserve all the timber growing thereon.

The lots of each square shall be numbered from the above space fronting the river. The eastmost lot of each square being No. 1, and so on, to the westmost lot of the whole city; by which means every lot in the city may be easily known and pointed out by any person.

The two lots No. 1 on each side of King street are hereby given forever to the citizens for market places. The two lots No. 13 on each side of King street are hereby given forever to the citizens; viz.: that on the south side for a Roman Catholic school, and that on the north side for a Roman Catholic church.

The two lots No. 13 in the fifth North street are hereby given forever to the citizens, viz.: that on the south side for an Episcopal school, and that on the north side for an Episcopal church.

The two lots No. 13 in the fifth South street are hereby given forever to the citizens, viz.: that on the south side for a Presbyterian school, and that on the north side for a Presbyterian church.

The two lots No. 13 in the tenth North street are hereby given forever to the citizens, viz.: that on the south side for a German Lutheran school, and that on the north side for a German Lutheran church.

The two lots No. 13 on the fifteenth North street are hereby given forever to the citizens — that on the south side for a German Calvanistic school, and that on the north side for a German Calvanistic church.

In like manner the two lots No. 13 in every fifth North street, and in every fifth south street throughout the city, shall be reserved and given for churches and schools, to be governed by such religious denominations as shall settle in New Madrid, on their respective plans.

All these lots, thus given, or reserved to be given are to be esteemed so many of those forty promised as before mentioned.

Every landing on the river opposite the city shall be equally free for all persons; under regulation, however, of the magistrates of the police.

No trees in any street of the city, nor in any road throughout the country, shall be injured or be cut down, but under the direction of the magistrates of the police, or an officer of their appointment, who shall be accountable in the premises; and no timber injured or cut down in any street or road, shall be applied to private uses under any plea whatsoever.

The banks of the Mississippi, throughout the territory, including a space of four rods in breadth, shall be a high-way and kept open forever as such; and the trees growing therein shall not be injured, nor be cut down, but by the magistrates of the police or their order, for the reasons given above in relation to other roads.

No white person shall be admitted to reside in this territory who shall declare himself to be a hunter by profession, or who shall make a practice of killing buffaloes or deer without bringing all the flesh of every carcass to his own family, or to New Madrid, or carrying it to some other market. This regulation is intended for the preservation of those animals, and for the benefit of neighboring Indians, whose dependence is on hunting principally — this settlement being wholly agricultural and commercial, no encouragement shall be given to white men hunters.

No person shall be concerned in contraband trade on any account. Care will be taken to instruct the inhabitants what is contraband, that they may not offend innocently.

Every person having permission to settle in this territory shall be allowed to bring with him his family, servants, slaves and effects of every kind, but not to export any part thereof, deemed contraband to any other part of his Majesty's dominions.

Every navigable river throughout the territory shall be esteemed a highway; and no obstruction to the navigation shall be made therein for the emolument of any person whatsoever.

No transfer of lands within this territory shall be valid unless acknowledged, and a record thereof be made in an office to be erected for that purpose in the district. This is meant to prevent fraudulent sales, and not to obstruct those made *bona fide* to any person whatsoever, being a Spanish subject.

All mortgages must in like manner be recorded at the same office for the same purpose; the fees of the office shall be reasonable, and the books, with alphabetical tables kept of the buyer and seller, and of the mortgagor and mortgagee, shall be open for examination.

The foregoing regulations and directions are meant as fundamental stipulations for the government and happiness of all who shall become subjects of Spain, and shall reside in this Territory.

Given under my hand at New Madrid this sixth day of April, 1789.

GEORGE MORGAN.[8]

1. What may be the probable quantum of acres contained in the limits described.[9]

2. Notwithstanding the great inducement (I mean that of free exports of produce and other advantages of trade) I am *clear* that to make the emigration toward the new establishment a *lasting* and *desirable* object to Americans per continuation at all times, the trial by jury & the liberty of regulating their own interior police, must stand also foremost as a charter right inherent to this new Province. There will be no chance to obtain the freedom of the press, thus I should be satisfied, if only the importation of books was granted on payment of moderate duties.

Relative to payment — 13th — I think 20 dollars such a trifling sum for the King of Spain that to encourage the emigration of those persons who cannot afford by themselves the means of traveling, it should be given under the *necessary cautions* as at present; as to indebt themselves, will discourage the most deserving subjects. The wisdom of the King will judge the worth of a family, or even a single man at a much higher rate, and also that it is becoming his dignity to give this sum as a bounty to the needful. I would at least leave the option between the *this*, and so as it stands at payment 13th to the court.

[The following is endorsed "New York, Sept. 30th, 1788 — Don Diego de Gardoqui's letter, recd. and answered the same day."—— and is addressed.........Hon^{ble} Coll° George Morgan."]

MY DEAR COLLO.

I thank you for your goodness in bringing the papers, & could have wished to find myself more at leisure, but I have three packets upon my hands to be dispatched within few days, & my health not so strong as I could wish.

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[8] The entire manuscript, of which the foregoing is a transcript, is in the handwriting of Colonel George Morgan, and covers nearly eight large foolscap pages, the whole folded and in his writing, endorsed "General Directions for Settlement at New Madrid."

[9] This addition is endorsed "Baron Poelrutza Remarks" in the handwriting of Col. Geo. Morgan.

I have, however, thought upon our object, find myself rather embarrassed about the sum required, as I must in this matter run the risk of taking upon me without orders. Should you therefore find it practicable to reduce it by lessening the number of people, or as you think best, I will venture to exert myself and hand you without losing a moment 500 or 600 dollars for the purpose & I will meet you when agreeable.

Pardon my situation, & hope it will be better when I receive the answer to your proposal & you will then see the liberal and friendly disposition of your unfeigned affectionate h'ble servt.

James Gardoqui.

Pray do you mean to stay here on Thursday that you may favor me to a friendly dinner that day, for I am till then engaged.

Thursday, 30th Sept.

[Endorsed in the handwriting of the same "St. Louis, May 6th, 1789 — Don Manuel Peres' Letter — received at New Orleans."]

St. Louis, May 6th, 1789.

Sir:—

I have your favor of the 8th April last per Mr. Morain, which gives me great pleasure to hear you are well satisfied with his conduct, and well pleased of the place you pitch upon to build your town, which you call the Nouvelle Madrid, and, that the country adjacent should be such you wish to have, that the gentlemen with you should be so well pleased with it. I shall write Mr. Peyroux, the commander officer of Ste. Genevieve, to protect with all his power those you choose to leave behind to plant corn, and shall do my best here (that) they should not be hurt.

I cannot but compliment you on all your proceeding for the establishment you are going to make, and the name you have given to your capital. I have no doubt but what it will be very agreeable to our superiors.

Madame Perez is very much obliged to you for your remembrance of her, and joins me in wishing you a safe and good return to New York. I shall be glad at every favorable opportunity to have the pleasure to hear from you, and have the honor to be sincerely, Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

Manuel Perez.

Sen. Dn. Jorge Morgan.

[Endorsed "New Orleans, May 29th, 1789; Commission."]
Stephen Miro, Brigadier of the Armies of his most Catholick Majesty, Governor and Commander in Chief in and over the Provinces of Louisiana, and West Florida, & Intendant of the same.

To Colonel George Morgan

You are hereby authorized and empowered to introduce any number of families, farmers, tradesmen, and laborers to settle within his Catholick Majestys Province of Louisiana, either within the territory you have applied to the King for, or in any other part, and particularly in Natchez, on the condition of settlement mentioned in the instructions delivered to you herewith; and I offer myself to recommend to his Majesty the merit that you will acquire in the commission, and I am sure that his Majesty will reward you in proportion to the number that by your influence & example shall come, and for my part I assure you a grant of one thousand acres of land, and as many for each of your children in any part of this province.

Given under my hand and the seal at arms at New Orleans this 29th day of May, 1789. ESTEVAN MIRO.

(S.) By his excellency's command .

ANDREAS LOPEZ DE ARMESTO.[10]

[Endorsed as before, "New Orleans, June 26th, 1789; Commission."]

Stephen Miro, Brigadier of the Armies of his most Catholic Majesty, Governor and Commander in Chief in and over the Provinces of Louisiana & West Florida, & Intendant of the same &c—

Being desirous of preventing anything which may prejudice to the population and advantage of the new settlement called *l'Anse a la Graisse*, already promoted by you, in case of death of the officer appointed to this Commandment, reposing especial trust and confidence in your abilities, fidelity and honor, I do hereby nominate and appoint you Commander within the said territory, until further orders from me, subject to the instructions which I have already given to you, and those which you may hereafter receive from me.

Given under my hand, sealed at arms, and countersigned by the Secretary of this Government. New Orleans, the twenty-sixth of June, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine.

(S.) ESTEVAN MIRO.

By his Excellency's command,

ANDREAS LOPEZ DE ARMESTO.

To Colonel George Morgan.

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[10] Came to New Orleans from Spain as director of the schools in 1772.

LV

APPOINTMENT OF PEDRO FOUCHER AS COMMANDANT OF NEW MADRID IN 1789

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Don Estevan Miro, Brigadier, etc.:

Inasmuch as the progress made daily in the province of Luisiana in the district called San Ance á la Graisse, demands the appointment of an official of integrity, talent, zeal, application, and good conduct, to take charge of the political and military command of said new settlement; and since these necessary qualities are found in the Lieutenant by brevet of the infantry regiment of this province, Don Pedro Fouche;[1] therefore, I appoint him by the present as such civil and military commandant of said settlement, under the necessary condition that he must be dependent on the superior government of this province with the instructions that I have furnished to him for that purpose. I do not doubt that he will apply all his forces to the encouragement of the population and agriculture, and preserve by all possible means, good relations, peace, and quietness among those new colonists, and administer justice to them with the mildness and gentleness peculiar to our government. In consequence of this, I order the commandants subject to this government, the sergeant, corporal, soldiers, and habitants of the above-cited new settlement to consider and recognize him as such civil and military commandant, and observe toward him all the honors, exemptions and privileges that belong to him by reason of such post; and those on whom it is incumbent by royal ordinance shall obey him in the written or verbal orders which he shall give for the royal service. Given, the present, etc.

Nueva Orleans, July 28, 1789. By order of his Lordship.

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[1] Pedro Foucher.

LVI

REPORT OF LIEUT. GOV. PEREZ OF THE VISIT OF COL. GEORGE MORGAN, ETC.

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Voyage undertaken by Colonel Don Jorge Morgan of the United States, in order that he might see whether he can find a suitable site south of Cape Cinque Home,[1] where he can establish a settlement and bring a great number of families.

Letter from Perez:] Number 61. Duplicate.

Colonel Don Jorge Morgan has presented himself at this post with a passport from Don Diego Gardoqui, the Minister sent by His Majesty to the United States in Nueva York. He has also handed me a letter from said Minister, by which the latter advises me that the abovesaid Colonel, Don Jorge Morgan, comes to examine the lands of this district which lie to the south of Cape Cinque Home, between Miseria and Anse de la Gres, in order to ascertain whether he can find a suitable site where he can make a considerable settlement with a great number of good families who are ready to come. The said Colonel will inform Your Lordship more in detail on his arrival at that city, after he has made his examination.

Since the letter of the Minister asks me to grant him and procure him all the aids that he needs, I have given him those for which he has asked me, economizing as much as possible in order to minimize expenses, under the well understood conditions that the said Colonel Don Jorge Morgan is obliged to satisfy those expenses, if Your Lordship has not received any orders in this particular to pay them at the account of the royal treasury. For that reason, I enclose Your Lordship his certification for what he has received, and which I have given him, as he has proven to me that it was all necessary to him.

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[1] Located in the present Perry county. This name is a corruption of "St. Cosme" — the name of a missionary, who came down the Mississippi in 1770. Now generally written "Cinque Hommes." See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. i, p. 242.

Besides the effects expressed by the certification, that he has received, I have furnished him three men, one of whom he takes from here and who is to be paid fifty pesos until his return, and for the other two, I am sending an order to the Commandant of Santa Genoveva, in order that he might procure them, and I think that they will receive the same pay. These three men he has asked — one to serve as interpreter for the Indian tribes who are located in the places where he is to make his examination, and the other two as experienced men who know the best sites in those lands near the Mississippi. I trust that all this will meet the approval of Your Lordship; for beyond doubt, if this project is realized as I believe it will be, it will be of great advantage for the province.

About seventy persons the heads of families, who are to come to settle, accompany the said Colonel. Of these he will leave about twenty in the place which he finds suitable for the settlement, in order that, while the others are returning to get their families, they may build some cabins in which to live. Eleven Indians of the tribes of the upper Vello [*i. e.*, Ohio] River also accompany him, two of whom have come to this post. I have regaled them with some presents, which made them very happy; and they have promised me that they will inform the Chiefs of their tribe how well they have been received in this district, and will try to pass the word to other tribes, so that they may keep peaceful.

I am enclosing your Lordship the copy of the letter of Don Diego de Guardoqui, which I have received, by which Your Lordship will see that said gentleman charges me to inform Your Lordship on the first opportunity, telling you that he has not had that opportunity, to do it himself; but that he would write to Your Lordship in detail by a post about to leave for Havana from Nueva York.

The said Colonel, Don Jorge Morgan, has secretly told me of a letter which might have come into his hands during the voyage, and which he sent by a messenger to Don Diego de Guardoqui, which being given with a copy which he carries to deliver to Your Lordship, Your Lordship will understand therefrom whatever it contains. He also leaves me another copy with the name of the person who wrote it, who he has learned intends to go to that city in order to examine the fortification and strength there and who it is supposed, will perhaps present himself in these districts to ask for a passport. If he comes this way, I shall receive him with pleasure without his discovering that I know anything of said letter and shall make him out the passport, if he asks me for it, in order that he may descend to Nueva Orleans, so that Your Lordship may decide in person what you may consider advisable.

I have set down the price of the provisions and effects which have been given to Colonel Don Jorge Morgan, at the amount for which they are regularly sold in this Post, except the bacon, which although it is sold at two reals per libra, I have been able to obtain for him at twenty sueldos [*i. e.*, sols], as it was paid for in cash.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years. San Luis de Ylinneses, March 27, 1789. Manuel Perez (rubric).

Addressed: "Don Estevan Miró."

Note of the provisions and effects delivered to Colonel Don Jorge Morgan:

	Pesos	Reals
Nine minots of salt at four pesos per minot	36	0
Fifty libras of powder at six [reals?] per libra.[2]	60	0
One hundred libras of balls at fifteen sueldos	15	0
Sixty minots of corn, at four reals [per minot]	30	0
Fifty libras of tobacco, at ten sueldos [per libra]	5	0
Four hundred libras of bacon, at twenty sueldos [per libra]	80	0
Two hundred libras of flour, at four pesos per hundred libras	8	0
Eleven blankets at two and one-half pesos or three pesos	33	0
Eight and two-thirds aunes of cloth, at three and one-half pesos apiece	28	5
Eleven striped shirts, at three pesos apiece	33	0
Three men who are accompanying him for the examination of the lands, at fifty pesos apiece	150	0
One equipped pirogue	25	0
Total	503	5

Duplicate, Nueva Orleans,[3] March 21, 1789.

Manuel Perez (rubric).

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[2] The transcript reads six, but it must be an error, if the 60 is correct; for since eight reals made one peso, the powder at six reals should cost but 37½ pesos. Supposing the "six" to be an error for "ten," the price of the powder would be 62½ pesos, but the price of 60 pesos might have been made in view of the quantity taken.

[3] This should probably be "San Luis."

Morgan's list:] Copy.

I attest that I have received from Don Manual Perez, Commandant at San Luys, from the King's store, the articles below mentioned, by means of the letter of Don Diego de Gardoqui, Minister for Spain in the United States, for which I shall bargain with His Excellency, the Governor of Luysiana on my arrival at Nueva Orleans.

Nine minots of salt.
Fifty libras of tobacco.
Sixty minots of corn.
Four hundred libras of bacon.
Fifty libras of powder.
One hundred libras of lead.
Two hundred libras of flour.

Eleven coverings,
Eleven shirts,
Eleven *mitas*,[3]
Eleven pairs of breeches [*bragreros*],
One equipped boat.[4]

To give to the savages who accompany me.

San Luis, March 21, 1789. GEORGE MORGAN.

A copy of the original, which I attest. San Luis de Ylinnes, June 20, 1791. MANUEL PEREZ (rubric).

Letter from Miro:]

By the letter of Your Grace, Number 61, I see the aid which Your Grace has given to Colonel Don Jorge Morgan. I approve it all, and accordingly, Your Grace will make out the certification of their amount, which will be put against the department of population.

The project of this Colonel, according to the exorbitant privileges which he asked, and which Don Diego de Gardoqui supported, would have been highly prejudicial to the tranquillity of these Provinces and even to the Kingdom of Nueva España in time. But having been reduced to all that I wished he has done us a service, in that he has furthered the formation of the settlement of the Anse a la Graisse, which I had already proposed to the Court, with the construction of a fort. Furthermore, this event, which may result in bringing here by the end of this year a great number of families, has determined me to send an officer and thirty men who will leave here by July 1 at the latest.

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[3] *Mita:* the number of Indians subjected to compulsory labor by terms in conformity with the laws of that name.

[4] This list will be found to agree with the one above, though expressed in slightly different terms.

They will carry provisions for more than one month after their arrival there, their future supply being in charge of Your Grace. For that purpose they will have a large pirogue to ply back and forth. If with this help Your Grace can supply them with food for their pay, for which purpose the officer will take some money, Your Grace would be doing a good service to His Majesty; but if it is impossible, purchases will be made here in order to provide the store of the New Post, so they may be supplied with their rations there.

They are to immediately construct a house for the commandant, a small barracks, food storehouse, guardroom, and the other small buildings necessary, inside a fort of stakes, in the place chosen by the officer who is going. For this some carpenters will be needed, who can no doubt be found in that district. Accordingly, Your Grace will immediately try to hire four of them, at the monthly pay, which Your Grace will endeavor not to have exceed one silver peso per day, and rations, in case it is necessary for the troops to have them. If the troops are able to live with their pay, then it will be necessary to increase them somewhat for their support.

I have no doubt that Your Grace will put forth all your efforts in order that this important object may be obtained.

May God preserve Your Grace many years. Nueva Orleans, June 3, 1789. ESTEVAN MIRO (rubric).

Addressed: "Don Manuel Perez."

A copy in the hand of the officer of the Governor sent to this Post, in reply to official communication, number 61. San Luis de Ylinneses, June 20, 1791.

MANUEL PEREZ (rubric).

Copy of the letter from Don Diego de Gardoqui.]

In consequence of a certain project, presented to me by Colonel Don Jorge Morgan, who proposed to me a considerable settlement south of Cape Cinque Home on the shores of the Mississippi, in the domains of the King, our Sovereign, it has appeared to me advisable to the royal service to grant him a passport allowing him to go to said district to examine the site most fitting, so that he may not fail of success this present season. In this understanding, and in the fact that he is going with instructions to first present himself with this letter to any of the Chiefs of His Majesty in the above-mentioned country, I beg Your Grace that as soon as the said Señor Morgan asks your counsel or assistance for the end above mentioned, to please grant it to him, procuring for him the aid that he needs, and taking a certification from the said interested party of what you have done. Since I have had no opportunity that enables me to communicate this project to the Governor of Luisiana, I beg Your Grace to inform him thereof at the first opportunity, and to add that I will write him at length by a post which is to leave for Havana in a short time. May God preserve Your Grace many years. Nueva York, October four, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight. DIEGO DE GARDOQUI.

Addressed: "To the Commandant or Chief in command on the west shore of the Misisipy River, belonging to His Catholic Majesty, etc."

A copy of the original, which I attest.

MANUEL PEREZ (rubric).

LVII

LETTER OF MIRO TO MANUEL GAYOSO DE LEMOS, ENCLOSING A LETTER FROM LIEUT.-GOV. PEREZ IN REGARD TO ATTACK MADE ON INDIANS BY AMERICANS IN 1789

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers proceeding from the Island of Cuba.

Letter from Miro:]

As Your Grace will see by the enclosed copy of the letter of the Lieutenant Governor of Ylinoa, Don Manuel Perez, the American families who passed through l'Anse á la Graisse[1] in three chaloupes on their way to Natchez, at the beginning of last month, have outraged the Indians who were hunting in that neighborhood, by firing upon them and even seizing one of them. This perverse conduct would have greatly exposed the habitants of that new settlement if we had not succeeded in pacifying the Indians. But since it is of the greatest importance to restrain these disorders and satisfy those who have always comported themselves well, as soon as Your Grace receives this letter, you will seek information of the families who came in said three chaloupes to find out whether the men named Conighan [*sc.*, Cunningham], Uking and Wise, who were the principal ones, are there, and you shall have them arrested if they are really the ones. Your Grace shall form your summary evidence and when the deed has been proven, Your Grace shall send me the criminals whom you find guilty in order that I might warn them. For it is advisable to make all persons see at the very beginning that we are acting impartially and know how to sustain the rights of hospitality and patronage which we have granted to the Indians.

May God preserve Your Grace many years. Nueva Orleans, August 10, 1789. ESTEVAN MIRÓ (rubric).

Addressed: "Manuel Gayoso de Lemos."

Letter from Perez:] Copy No. 54.

I must inform Your Lordship of a crime which has been committed according to the information which I have received from

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[1] New Madrid.

Anse a la Graisse by the American families who passed through that post in three chaloupes on their way to Natchez at the beginning of last month. That deed has exposed the habitants of Nueva Madrid and l'Anse a la Graisse to the danger of being ill treated by the Indians settled in that district who have until now enjoyed good relations with the habitants without having committed the slightest damage from the time when they were permitted to settle in this district.

The Americans who descended to Natchez in the three chaloupes, after having passed l'Anse a la Graisse a matter of ten or twelve leagues below the village attacked and fired upon a band of Cheraquies and Loups Indians who were hunting. The Indians fled and scattered with their women through the woods. The Americans broke open the furs which they had and emptied out part of the grease which they had made, beside some tallow. They captured three Indians and bound them securely. They took one of them in the chaloupes who talks English because he is a halfbreed and let the other two go. The latter went to give notice of the affair at l'Anse a la Graisse and went in search of their wives and their children who were missing. Having met one of the latter almost dead and a woman, it did not appear until after a fortnight that this deed was the cause for the Indians to hold a council. They were determined to destroy the habitants who were in that post. But we have been able to avoid that by means of the arguments made to them by one of the French settlers who understands perfectly the language of those tribes. That settler has made them see that neither the habitants of Nueva Madrid or those of l'Anse a la Graisse had any part in the affair, but that it was only those who descended in the chaloupes. By that means we have succeeded in quieting them and in getting them to desist from their designs.

I have just received news of the arrival at l'Anse a la Graisse of the Indian whom the Americans had bound in the chaloupes with Monsieur Lasoy[2] who brought him in his boat after taking him from the chaloupes when he met the latter at his departure.

Your Lordship may inform yourself of all that has occurred *in extenso* from Captain John Ward[3] who is going down to that city in the name of the habitants of Nueva Madrid. He has told me that he knows some of the persons who descended in the chaloupes.

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[2] Lesieur.

[3] Came with Col. Morgan to New Madrid.

Under present covers I send Your Lordship the names of four of the principal men who were in the said chaloupes, so that Your Lordship may take those measures which you deem advisable, in order to avoid the consequent evils which may happen to us from such proceedings. May God preserve Your Lordship many years. San Luis de Ylinoa, June 8, 1789. MANUEL PEREZ (rubric).
Addressed: "Don Esteban Miro."

LVIII

SOME PERSONS WHO TOOK THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE AT NEW MADRID FROM 1789 TO 1796

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba

We, the undersigned, swear on the Holy Gospels, all faith, vassalage, and loyalty to His Catholic Majesty, for we wish, of our own accord, to live under his laws, we promise not to violate, directly or indirectly, his royal interests, to give immediate advice to our Commandants of whatever comes to our notice, which may in any way be able to prejudice the general welfare of Spain, and the particular welfare of this province. In defense of this province, we are ready to take up arms on the first request of our leaders, especially in favor of this district, whenever forces come to invade it by way of the upper part of the river, or by way of the interior overland. In order that this may be shown to be our free and voluntary will, we sign the present oath of fidelity before the undersigned commandant, and Don Juan Bautista Barselo and Don José Carriere, witnesses present. L'Ance á la Graice, November 30, 1789.

Joseph Story[1]
Benjamin Dauy[2]
Catharine Hebly[3]
Samüel Vauhook[4]
Adam Houje [House][5]

His mark by:

Jaimes McDonald[6]
Ysaac Thomson[7]
Bryant Joseverus[8]
Cornelius Duffy

Signed by:

Charles Gordon
Thomas Davidson

His mark by:

Thomas Christy
Thimothy Johnson
Samuel Morris

Witnesses present:

JOSÉ CARRIERE [9]
V. B. BARSA LENSE (*sic*) [10]

Witness present:

PEDRO FOUCHER

[The oath of fidelity as given above, is repeated, in the singular form, concluding:]

And in order that this may be evident as my free and voluntary will, I sign the present oath of fidelity before the undersigned Commandant, and Ramon Peres [11] and Agustin Grande [12] in Fort Celeste of Nuevo Madrid, June 13, 1795.

TOMAS PORTELL
POGINAL [*sic*] DE GOUNEIRE [13]
RAMON PERES
AGUSTIN GRANDE

We, who affix our signatures below, give this our oath of fidelity into the hands of the Commandant mentioned on the preceding page, witnesses being Francisco Martines [14] and Manuel Peres.[15] Nuevo Madrid, February three, 1796.

TOMÁS PORTELL
FRANCISCO MARTINES [14]
MANUEL PERES [15]
ANDREW BACHAR [16]
FRUNT [FRANK ?] YRUNISTOR [17]
GUILLERMO PATERSON
ABRAHAM BAKER
DAVID MONTGOMERY
JOSÉ TAW (?)

The undersigned take oath of fidelity, June twelve, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, before the Commandant above-mentioned, witnesses being Don Juan Lavallé [18] and Manuel Dias.

MATTHEU VILLARS
CHRISTOPHER VINSOR [19]
THOMAS WINSOR
ELISHA WINSOR [20]
JOHN VILLARS
TOMAS PORTELL [21]
LAVALLÉ

June eighteen, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, the undersigned took the oath of fidelity before the above-mentioned Commandant, witnesses being Don Juan Lavallé and Manuel Dias.

Tomás Portelle
Robert White
Lavallé

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[1] Joseph Story was a surveyor, a native of Massachusetts, son of William Story and Jane Appleton, residing in Boston. At New Madrid at the age of 32 he married Catharine Seek, daughter of Jacob Seek and Catharine Keyes, his wife, of Pennsylvania.

[2] Benjamin Dorsey?

[3] Catharine Heberly?

[4] Samuel Vaughn?

[5] This Adam House was afterward a resident on the Maramec, where he was killed by the Osage Indians.

[6] A James McDonald lived in the St. Louis district some time and claimed land at Marais de Liards, probably the same person.

[7] This is probably the Isaac Thompson, who lived on the bayou St. Thomas. He sold his claim to François B. Carvoisiere and moved to Portage Bay.

[8] This may be Bryant Grosvenor.

[9] Probably a member of the Vincennes family of Carrieres. This family claimed land there under ancient French and British grants.

[10] J. B. Barseloux.

[11] Ramon Perez, a sergeant of the garrison of New Madrid.

[12] Augustine Grand, who was afterward in command of Campo de la Esperanza when Delassus retired from the country with the Spanish forces. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 369.

[13] Henri Peyroux de la Coudreniere.

[14] Francisco Martinez, a Spanish soldier who came up with Rui to the Missouri in 1767. See *ante*, p. 43.

[15] Manuel Perez, a soldier, who had come up as stone cutter to the Missouri with Rui. See *ante*, p. 43.

[16] Possibly for Badger.

[17] Frank Conister?

[18] Don Juan la Vallee, a trader and interpreter, and afterward commandant of New Madrid. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 141.

[19] Christopher Winsor.

[20] Elisha Winsor removed to New Orleans where he established a ropewalk. He was a favorite of Carondelet and received a grant of land on the Arkansas of a million acres and his sons Gabriel and William each of 250,000 acres, but this immense concession was never confirmed and for many years came up again and again in Congress.

[21] Thomas Portelle or Portell, was commandant of New Madrid from 1791 to 1796, succeeding Don Pedro Foucher. Before he came to New Madrid he was in command of Fort Achachaly. After leaving New Madrid he seems to disappear from Louisiana.

LIX

REPORT OF TRUDEAU, 1791 — AND CENSUS FOR 1794-5

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Letter from Trudeau:]

Under present covers I am sending Your Lordship the summary of the general list of these settlements. Therein you will notice the short [small] increase in the population from October 31 of last year when I made the preceding list. The mortality has been heavy, and has come only from colds in the chest [pneumonia]. That is the only dangerous illness that is experienced in the country, and during the past winter, they have been almost general among the work people, who because of the badly-founded preconception of some against bleeding, and the lack of a bloodletter for others, became victims.

The marriages are many compared to those of preceding years, and are all among the people of the country. The harvest is so-so, for our people, and must have yielded at least one thousand barrels of flour. No one however, speculates in it, because there are not sufficient reasons to make it of good quality, and the exorbitant prices of the barrels, boats, and rowers, which would cause it to advance so much that the principal could not be made from it. That results from our scanty population which is engaged in the fur trade,[1] [at least] all who are not farmers.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

San Luis, November 28, 1791.

ZENON TRUDEAU (rubric).

Addressed: "Señor Barón de Carondelet."

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[1] This prevalence of fur trading is noted by various of the authors who wrote about Louisiana. Berquin-Duvallon, Vue de la Colonie Espagnole du Missisipi (Paris, 1804), says, p. 61: "The third and last settlement of Upper Louisiana is that of the Illinois. . . . . This settlement of the Illinois scarcely furnishes to the trade of the Colony, ... but a few boats laden with pelts and bear's grease. Albeit, the lands there are well adapted to the cultivation of wheat. But the passion for the chase and for trading, which, there, as in almost all other regions of North America, at all times caused the French settlements to languish, and the neglect of the essential point, that of cultivation — that passion of wandering through the woods, as well as the carelessness of the present government, and the difficulty of commercial relations, have up to the present, kept that settlement of the Illinois in the shadow of inertia and mediocrity."

Register of population:]

Report of the general list of the western settlements of Illinois, showing the number of persons of both sexes, free mulattoes [*pardos*] and negroes, the slaves whom they own, the harvest, and other products; with note of the marriages, births, and deaths from November first of the past year, 1794, to October thirty-one, of the present year, 1795.

Names of the Villages	Whites						Free Mulattoes						Free Negroes					
	Men			Women			Men			Women			Men			Women		
	First age	Second age	Third Age	First age	Second age	Third age	First age	Second age	Third age	First age	Second age	Third age	First age	Second age	Third age	First age	Second age	Third age
San Luis	120	209	39	119	126	23	12	8		11	6			1			1	4
San Carlos del Misuri	61	103	34	71	63	5												
San Fernando	25	43	8	35	41	5												
Villa de Carondelet	35	59	6	39	35	8												
Santa Genoveva	97	200	15	110	111	4	2	3		5	1		2	3	1		2	1
Nueva Borbon	26	68	6	17	31	2												
Totals	363	682	108	391	407	47	14	11		16	7		2	4	1		3	5

Names of the Villages	Mulatto Slaves						Negro Slaves								
	Men			Women			Men			Women					
	First age	Second age	Third age	First age	Second age	Third age	First age	Second age	Third age	First age	Second age	Third age	Marriages	Births	Deaths
San Luis	25	26		23	19	4	31	55	24	17	60	13	17	48	49
San Carlos del Misuri							5			1	2	3	6	23	29
San Fernando													2	12	6
Villa de Carondelet											1		3	6	4
Santa Genoveva	9	13		12	7		46	91	12	18	84			25	14
Nueva Borbon											3		1	9	5
Totals	34	39		35	26	4	82	146	36	36	150	16	32	123	107

Names of the Villages	Products					Number of Persons in each house [*sic*; *sc.* village]
	Minots of Wheat	Minots of Corn	Pounds of Tobacco	Minots of Salt	Pounds of Lead	
San Luis	5,984	6,400		500		976
San Carlos del Misuri	5,540	5,825	1,700			348
San Fernando	5,495	5,825	8,030			157
Villa de Carondelet	1,362	2,101	3,570			182
Santa Genoveva	9,230	25,860		5,400	327,300	849
Nueva Borbon	1,640	5,120	3,740			153
Totals	39,251	51,131	17,040	5,900	327,300	2,665[1]

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[1] See J. Davis, Travels in Louisiana and the Floridas in the year 1802 (New York, 1806), which is a translation of Berquin-Duvallon, Histoire. The appendix (which is not given in the original work), gives a document of similar title to this for the year 1799.

LX

NEW SETTLERS OF NEW MADRID — 1791

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba

Letter from Foucher:]

I am sending Your Lordship a register of the habitants who have presented themselves for this settlement from the beginning of this year until the present, and are now here; with note of the married and single people, and the place whence they have come. I send and give this to Your Lordship in order that you may have due knowledge and satisfaction concerning it.

May God our Lord preserve Your Lordship's life many years Nuevo Madrid, April 26, 1791.

Pedro Foucher.

Addressed: "Don Estevan Miro."

Letter from Miró:]

I retain in my possession the register sent me by your Grace's predecessor with official communication No. 96, of the habitants who have presented themselves in that settlement from the beginning of this year to the end of April.

I am greatly pleased at the rate of increase of that population, and I hope that Your Grace's administration will cause the mildness of our government to be respected in such manner that the new colonists may not have the least resentment for the change of dominion — the first point toward which Your Grace must direct all your efforts, avoiding all complaints.[1]

May God preserve Your Grace many years. Nueva Orleans, May 13, 1791.

Estevan Miro.

Addressed: "Don Tomas Portell."

Report showing the persons who have presented themselves in this post in order to settle herein, from the first of January to the end of April of the current year; and who have taken the oath of allegiance; with mention of the place whence they have come.

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[1] The insurrection of 1768, when the French drove out the Spaniards was probably in the mind of Miró in writing thus to Portell. Only now the situation was more complicated because of the growing fear of the Americans.

NEW SETTLERS

Place whence they have come	Names	Men	Women	Children	Single	Total Number of Persons
	Francisco de Rouse [1]	1	1	5		7
	Luis Broulet [2]	1	1	2		4
	Joseph Perodeau, Sr. [3]	1	1	1		3
	Joseph Perodeau, Jr.	1	1	2		4
	Josef Hunot [4]	1	1	5		7
	Juan Bauptista Binette [5]	1	1	7		9
	Francisco Lacoste [6]	1	1	7		9
	Antonio Mallet [7]	1	1	3		5
	Carlos Delisle [8]	1	1	3		5
	Francisco Lafleur [9]				1	1
	Juan Bauptista Lagarde [10]				1	1
	Francisco Harpin [11]				1	1
	Juan Bauptista Millet [12]	1	1	5		7
	Francisco Langlois [13]					
	Josef Detallie [14]	1	1	2		4
	Josef Mettes [15]	1	1	1		3
	Eustaquio Peltier [16]	1	1	6		8
Post Vesen [*i.e.*, Vincennes?]	Josef Carpin [17]				1	1
	Juan Maria Lagrand				1	1
	Vinda Lagrand		1	6		7
	Josef Lagrand				1	1
	Madame Baviny [18]				1	1
	Carlos Bonneau [19]	1	1	6		8
	Pedro Coder [20]				1	1
	Jaime la Cruz, widow [21]	1			1	1
	Antonio Meloche [22]	1	1			2
	Pedro Guierrier [23]	1	1	1		3
	Luis Denoyon [24]				1	1
	Miguel Bordeleau [25]				1	1
	Francisco Ouelette [26]				1	1
	Josef Montuirel [27]	1	1	2		4
	Josef Santa Maria [28]	1	1	2		4
	Estevan Santa Maria	1	1	7		9
	Juan Bauptista Richardo	1	1			2
	Francisco Raicce	1	1	4		6
	Juan Bauptista Raicce	1	1	2		4
	Francisco Compagnot	1	1	5		7
	Nicolas Bonneau				1	1
	Franc[illegible]yer [29]				1	1
	Pedro Grimaret [30]				1	1
	Pedro La Puvre	1	1	1		3
	Santos Boyer [31]				1	1
	Pedro Rangez [32]	1	1	3		5
	Santos Coder [33]	1	1	8		10
	Juan Bauptista St. Aubin [34]	1		2	1	3
	Jayme Lamonte					1
	Luis St. Aubin	1	1	1		3
	Juan Bauptista Carron				1	1
	Josef Campeat [35]				1	1
	Andres Boyer				1	1
	Bernardo Nipied [36]				1	1
	Luis Gutier [37]				1	1

NEW SETTLERS — Continued

Place whence they have come	Names	Men	Women	Children	Single	Total Number of Persons
Post Vesen	Francisco Nubeault[38]				1	1
	Carlos Villanueva[39]				1	1
	Jaimen [Jaime?] Seguin[40]				1	1
	Luis Morand				1	1
	Luis Lebrod				1	1
	Amable Perron[41]				1	1
	Renato Coder[42]	1	1	8		10
	Carlos Bergand[43]	1	1	1		3
	Carlos Moises[44]				1	1
	Luis Denupon[45]				1	1
	Enrique Coder[46]				1	1
	Juan Poulan[47]	1		1	1	1
	Juan Bauptista Coder[48]				1	1
	Madame la Busiaire[49]		1			1
	Madame Widow Camponot[50]		1			1
	Francisco Stockeley[51]				1	1
Fort Pitt	Yeacke Cory[52]				1	1
	Nicolas Burney				1	1
	Julian Colvet[53]				1	1
	Josef Boissy				1	1
Galiapolis	Juan Luis Collot	1	1	1		3
	Claudio Noel Cousin				1	1
	Ambrosio Noel				1	1
	Luis Dode[54]				1	1
	Jayme Lafonse				1	1
	Claudio Margarita				1	1
	Totals	33	34	110	43	192

Nuevo Madrid, April 30, 1791.

PEDRO FOUCHER (rubric).

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[1] François Derousse came from Vincennes and was one of the original settlers there.

[2] Louis Brouillet, came from Vincennes and was one of the claimants to land there.

[3] Both Joseph Perodeau, senior and junior, came from Vincennes.

[4] So also Joseph Hunot.

[5] Also Jean Baptiste Binette.

[6] A Charles Lacoste was a resident of Vincennes and it is more than likely that the Francisco Lacoste mentioned came from there. This name may be an abbreviation of Lanquedoc, or Lantagnac. The name is also a *dit* of the Pelletier family, known by the Indian name Antaya. In New Madrid, Angelique Languedoc, married Eustache Pelletier or Peltier, and she signed her name to the marriage contract "Lacoste."

[7] Antoine Mallet came from Vincennes in 1775, where he married Catharine Bordeleau. He died in New Madrid in 1793, leaving two children, a daughter and a son, the former of whom married Michel Clermont. The son was also named Antoine. From the St. Louis Archives it appears that one Antoine Mallet gave a mortgage for some property to Louis Lambert, no doubt one of these Mallets.

[8] This Charles Delisle may have come from Kaskaskia, where this name is found, but the name also occurs among the old settlers of Vincennes. These De Lisles are undoubtedly descendants of François Bienvenue d'Isle, dit De Lisle, one of the first settlers of Detroit in 1707. This François was the father of 12 children. His first wife was Genevieve la Ferriere, and after her death he married Marie le Moyne. In the Illinois country the family was generally known by the name of De Lisle, although in the old records occasionally we find the name Bienvenue, dit De Lisle.

[9] A François Lafleur was a resident of Old Mines in what is now Washington County in 1746 and married an Indian wife named Marie Theresa Patoka, or Julie Terte, or Ferte. This Lafleur in 1748 resided in the village of St. Phillipe. In the Archives, however, the name of Lafleur as a *dit* is found to be quite common. Thus we have Godineau, dit Lafleur, Louis Bompart, dit Lafleur, Louis le Tourneau, dit Lafleur, Pierre Quesnal, dit Lafleur, Louis Lambert, dit Lafleur, François Lalumandiere, dit Lafleur and François Duchouquette, dit Lafleur. A François Lafleur is also found among the old residents of Vincennes and this may be the Lafleur among the new settlers of New Madrid.

[10] Winthrop Sargent gives the name of a widow St. Jean Lagarde as entitled to land at Vincennes in 1790. Perhaps she was the widow of this Jean Baptiste Lagarde.

[11] The name of one Baptiste Harpin is found among the ancient habitants of Vincennes. This Francisco undoubtedly came from there.

[12] Jean Baptiste Millet immigrated from Vincennes. He had a grant of 748 arpents on the Big Island of the St. François in the New Madrid district.

[13] François Langlois, was a prominent character in Spanish New Madrid. He may have come either from Kaskaskia or Vincennes, as a Langlois family was then found at both settlements. In New Madrid this François became captain of militia and commandant of the galliot "Flecha" and had under him also the gunboat "Toro" and batteau "Princeps des Asturia." From New Madrid he went to New Orleans and as he knew that money was sent to Gen. Wilkinson, his testimony in the controversy with Clark became important. It was charged that he received a lot in New Orleans from Clark to depose as to certain facts in regard to these matters.

[14] A Joseph Dutailly, an Indian interpreter, died in St. Louis in 1771. No doubt this De Tailly was a relative or son.

[15] This name stands for Joseph Mette, a name found in Vincennes. No doubt he came to New Madrid.

[16] Eustache Pelletier came to New Madrid from Vincennes, and from there moved to Little Prairie, where he obtained a settlement right.

[17] Joseph Harpin came from Vincennes, as did also the Legrand family.

[18] The name of Madame Angelique Basinet, is given by Sargeant as a widow entitled to land at Vincennes.

[19] Charles Bonneau came from Vincennes. His daughter married Dr. Samuel Dorsey at New Madrid.

[20] Pierre Codere, or Coder, from Vincennes.

[21] Jaime Lacroix from Vincennes.

[22] This Antoine Melloche, dit Hibernois (because of his Irish nationality) came to Madrid from Vincennes. He also lived at Little Prairie.

[23] Pierre Grimarre came from Vincennes, where he claimed land on the west side of the Wabash, below Raccoon creek. François Lacoste, dit Languedoc was one of his witnesses.

[24] Louis Dagneau, no doubt related to Pierre Dagneau of Vincennes.

[25] Michel Bordeleau came from Vincennes.

[26] This François Ouilette was perhaps a relative of the Jean Baptise Ouilette of Vincennes. The name is also spelled in the American State Papers

"Violet," and is known also as Quilette, dit Quebeck. The name of one Pierre Quebeck is found in St. Charles where his widow sold some property to Auguste Chouteau.

[27] Joseph Sabolle, or Sedilot, dit Montremil, also lived in St. Louis.

[28] Joseph St. Marie, Jean Baptiste Marie, Jean Baptiste Richard, François Racine, Jane Baptiste Racine, François Campagnot and Nicolas Bonneau all came from Vincennes.

[29] François Boyer came from Kaskaskia.

[30] Pierre Grimard had a settlement right on Big Lake and was no doubt related to Louis Grimard, or Grimault, or Grimau, dit Charpentier of St. Louis.

[31] Touissant Boyer.

[32] Pierre Raynez was from Vincennes, as were also Touissant Coder, and Jean Baptiste St. Aubin.

[33] Touissant Coder, from Vincennes.

[34] Jacques Lamotte, Louis St. Aubin, and Jean Baptiste Carron, all came from Vincennes.

[35] This name stands likely for Joseph Chabot one of the first residents of Vincennes, who immigrated to New Madrid.

[36] Bernard Nepveu?

[37] Louis Chartier?

[38] François Rimbault, perhaps a relative of Pierre Rimbault of Vincennes.

[39] Charles Villaneuve came from Vincennes.

[40] Jaime Seguin. A Louis Seguin, dit Laderoute lived at Kaskaskia and was perhaps related to this Jaime or Jacques of New Madrid.

[41] Amable Perron, from Vincennes.

[42] Rene Coder, from Vincennes.

[43] Louis Bergeron, from Vincennes.

[44] Charles Meaux, from Vincennes.

[45] Louis Denoyon, from Vincennes.

[46] Henri Coder, from Vincennes.

[47] Louis Plouchon, from Vincennes.

[48] Jean Baptiste Coder, from Vincennes.

[49] Madame Genevieve Labusciere or Labuxiere, came from Vincennes. Sargeant says, that she was deserted by her husband, Jos. Labusciere. Was this Labusciere related to the Joseph Labusciere, the notary, of St. Louis and Cahokia?

[50] The Widow Champognot came from Vincennes.

[51] François Stokely came from Vincennes.

[52] Jack Cory.

[53] Julian Culver?

[54] Louis Dodie?

LXI

FORTS ON THE DES MOINES AND IOWA RIVERS — 1792

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Your Lordship's predecessor, in letter No. 185, sent me a copy of another letter of the Lieutenant-Governor of Yllinois, Don Manuel Perez, in which the latter informed him of the entrance of the English into the Misuris River, and proposed as the only remedy the construction of two strong posts on the Mouis [1] and San Pedro Rivers. [2]

Since said report does not contain sufficient information concerning the causes and fundamental reasons for such an establishment for one who does not possess the necessary local knowledge of certain territories of which no map exists in the secretary's office of this captaincy-general; nor any public facts of any accuracy and exactness in order to form a judgment: Your Lordship shall continue to obtain all the fitting information for explaining to me what you believe advisable, and shall, in the meantime, take for yourself whatever measures are urgent.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years. Havana, February 17, 1792.

Luis de las Casas.[3]

Addressed: "Baron de Carondelet."

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[1] Des Moines.

[2] Iowa.

[3] Luis de las Casas y Aragorri (his full name) was born August 25, 1745, near the village of Sopuerta in the Basque country. Being well connected through family, he became royal page to the king of Spain at the early age of thirteen. Choosing a military life, he served first in active warfare under Conde O'Reilly in the Portuguese campaign in 1762 as captain of infantry, where he signally distinguished himself. In 1768, when O'Reilly was commissioned to take possession of Louisiana, which had been ceded to the Spaniards by the treaty of 1763, as his sargento-mayor of New Orleans, [i. e., his chief officer], he selected Casas. While in America, the latter took the opportunity to travel in the English colonies, and it is said saw the preliminaries to the outbreak of hostilities between them and the mother country. In 1774, he returned to Spain, and from there went to Russia. There he served in the Russian ranks where his gallantry in battle caused the Russian general to recommend him to Catherine II, empress of Russia. She in turn recommended him to Charles III of Spain as one fit for promotion. On leaving Russia, he traveled in Germany, Belgium, Holland, England, and France, in the last-named country studying politics and the science of government. At the solicitation of O'Reilly he returned to Spain to take part in the Spanish attack on the Moors of Africa, and in that disastrous campaign

earned still greater praise for his gallantry and bravery in protecting the rear on the withdrawal of the Spanish troops. For these services he was promoted to the rank of Brigadier-general. At the head of his Savoy regiment, he served in the garrisons at Cadiz, Madrid, and other places. He also saw service during the siege of Gibraltar in 1779 against the British, and in the conquest of Minorca. After this he was made commander of Oram, and because of his good services there was chosen captain-general of Cuba in 1790, by Charles IV, with the rank of Lieutenant-General. Proceeding at once to his new post, he reached Santiago de Cuba, June 23, 1790, and disembarked at Havana, July 8. Taking possession of his office the succeeding day, he immediately instituted the beginning of one of the most brilliant of Spanish-Cuban periods. Besides fortifying Havana and other ports, he constructed many public works, reformed morals, and punished vagrancy and gambling. To his efforts were due the founding of a newspaper and the establishment of the Society known as Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País [e. i., Economic Society of Friends of the Country], the duties of which were to promote the best economic interests of Cuba. This society was founded in 1792. He encouraged and fostered trade between Cuba and the United States. He also founded a charitable institution in Havana. During the insurrection against the French in the neighboring island of Santo Domingo, he maintained order with his few troops in the face of the negroes of Cuba who were naturally excited by the events happening in Santo Domingo. It was due to him that the bones of Columbus were transferred from Santo Domingo to Havanna, which when the Spaniards retired from Cuba were removed to Seville. Finally he begged the king to be relieved from his command, and on December 6, 1796, handed over the government of Cuba to his successor Conde de Santa Clara, at the outbreak of hostilities with England. On his return to Spain, he was given charge of the military and politial government of Cadiz and the commandancy of the province of Andalusia, where he served with his accustomed zeal. His death occurred at Puerto de Santa Maria, July 19, 1800. Although he was never married, he left one illegitimate son, who was reared and educated by the Marquis of Iranda. His property scarcely paid his debts. On his mother's side he seems to have been connected with the family of Carondelet

LXII

SOME OATHS OF ALLEGIANCE TAKEN AT NEW MADRID FROM 1793 TO 1795

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba

We, the undersigned, swear, on the Holy Gospels, complete faith, homage, and loyalty to His Majesty. We wish voluntarily to live under his laws, and promise not to violate directly or indirectly His royal interests, to give immediate advice to our Commandants of whatever comes to our knowledge and which can in any way prejudice the general welfare of Spain and the special welfare of this province, in whose defense we are ready to take up arms on the first requisition of our leaders, especially in favor of this district, whenever forces should come by way of the upper part of the river or overland to invade it. In order that this may stand forth as our free and spontaneous will we sign the present oath of allegiance before the undersigned Commandant, and David Gray and Don Antonio Gamelin, witnesses present in Fort Celeste at Nuevo Madrid, April 7, 1793.

Tomas Portell

Christoval Roque Marco
Pierre Duncan [1]
Jose Hunot [2]
Francisco Cayole [3]
Nicolas Esclieu [4]
Jean Baptista Moyso [5]
Benjamin Miller
Jose Casagrande [6]
Enoche Bodevell [7]
George Ungu [8]

On May 14, 1793, before the same Commandant, the undersigned took the oath of allegiance, witnesses being David Gray [9] and Bartolome Rodriguez.[10]

Tomas Portell

J.[uan?] de B(aptista?)
David Gray
Bartolome Rodriguez

May 27th, 1793, the oath of allegiance was taken before the said Commandant by the undersigned persons, witnesses being Jose Bernardo and Bartolome Rodriguez.

Tomas Portell
Juan Masedt [11]
Pedro Droullard [12]
Jose Bernardo [13]
Bartolme Rodriguez

May 31, of the said year, the undersigned took the oath of allegiance before the above-mentioned Commandant and witnesses, Aron Res and David Gray.

Tomas Portell
Joseph Tovonson [14]
David Gray
Aron Res [15]

The undersigned took the oath of allegiance June 18, of the current year, '93, before the said Commandant and the witnesses, Enrique Perux [16] and David Gray.

Tomas Portell
Stephen Burk
Batt [Bartolome?] M. Laughlin [17]
Philip [or Phelix] Boyle
Enrique Peyroux
David Gray

On the 24th of the above-named month, the undersigned took the oath of allegiance before the said Commandant and the witnesses, Elias Jacson [18] and David Gray.

Tomas Portell
Joan Gill
Patrick Laughlan
Gau [George or Dan?] Junnex [19]
David Gray
Elias Jacson

June 26th, 1793, the oath of allegiance was taken before the Commandant and in the presence of the witnesses Jose Bernardo and Bartolome Rodriguez.

Tomas Portell.
Lucas Despeentreirux [20] [*sic*]
Philip Ducomb [21]
Noel Antoine Prieur [22]
Jose Barbier
Johann Klein
Jose Bernardo
Bartolome Rodriguez

The undersigned took the oath of allegiance September 19, 1793, witnesses being Bartolome Rodriguez[23] and Ventura Arizabal.

TOMAS PORTELL

BAUTISTA MONIX
LORENZO ABELINO[24]

BARTOLOME RODRIGUEZ
BENTURA ARIZABAL[25]

In Fort Celeste of Nuevo Madrid, December 15, 1793, B. Tardiveau took the oath of allegiance.

Pere Gibault, parish priest, took the oath of allegiance in Nuevo Madrid, December 23, 1793.

January 23, 1794, the oath of allegiance was taken by George Vilson,[26] Jacob Bogan,[27] Juan Collins,[28] James Longwell, John Walde,[29] Cornelius Lecon, James M. Miller and Joseph Bogard. Witnesses Roberto Macay and David Gray.

February 5, 1794, the oath was taken by Pisgignouse,[30] L. Vandentecud[31] [Vandenbenden?], and P. Menaro.[32]

February 11, 1794, the oath was taken by J. Cruzel,[33] Dech Martinas.[34]

February 18, 1794, the oath was taken by Pedro Gren.[35]

March 31, 1794, the oath was taken by John Davis.

April 8, 1794, the oath was taken by F. Resmemier and Jhuan Ducille.[36]

April 9, 1794, the oath was taken by François Xavier Tousnay.[37]

April 12, 1794, the oath was taken by Frank Smith.

April 5, 1794, the oath was taken by Felix J. Sons and Francis Torance.

In Fort Celeste, of Nuevo Madrid, the oath was taken on April 9, 1794, by Marquet, Louis Marquet,[38] Bernadin de Marquet, George Rame,[39] and Joan Combe.[40]

May 20, 1794, the oath was taken by Darriese,[41] a priest and vicar-general of Monsieur the Bishop of Baltimore.

June 30, 1794, the oath was taken by F. Albisad[42] [*sic*] Francisco Xavier,[43] George Buru,[44] and Johann Wieffermuller.[45]

July 18, 1794, the oath was taken by Michael More[46] and Joseph McCourtney.[47]

November 28, 1794, the oath was taken by John Summers,[48] Pascual Palacio[49] being witness.

July 28, 1794, the oath was taken by Ettienne Pasar,[50] Marc Ravel,[51] Baptista Gandron,[52] and Andy Goder.[53]

November 28, 1794, the oath was taken by Cruhourd[54] [*sic*], François Caperon,[55] Alexis Tuiret,[56] Charles Tela,[57] and William Pillsnoeth.

November 28, 1794, the oath was taken by Demaiseuire,[58] A. Breard,[59] and Briaud de Breville.[60]

April 12, 1795, the oath was taken by Samuel Lloyd, Jr.

December 20, 1794, the oath was taken by Guillamo Woodes.[61]

January 9, 1795, the oath was taken by Joseph McCourtny.

January 16, 1795, the oath was taken by Charles Campbel.

January 17, 1795, the oath was taken by F. Birin.[62]

July 30, 1794, the oath was taken by Cornelius Seily.[63]

August 25, 1794, the oath was taken by Michael Ryan, James O'Bune,[64] and Samuel Hill.

November 23, 1794, the oath was taken by John Elliott.

January 25, 1795, the oath was taken by Jan Frison,[65] J. Buzenet, and Gidou.

February 27, 1795, the oath was taken by George Ruddell and Robert Uphara.[66]

February 16, 1795, the oath was taken by Ysidoro Dupuy,[67] Luis Girard,[68] Pascual Cournier,[69] John Witt, Sam Reed, Tomas Fuentiment,[70] Benjamin Green, Jacobe Cro,[71] Ysack Cro,[72] David White, Matthew M'Corniss,[73] Jacobo Reume,[74] Luis Banceloux,[75] Alejo Grand Pre,[76] and Jose Bergenon.[77]

March 21, 1795, the oath was taken by Guillaume Duggan,[78] James Mace, and Peter Johnson.

April 19, 1795, the oath was taken by Philipe Engel[79] and Henry Wert.

April 24, 1795, the oath was taken by Francisco Bruiet,[80] Juan Baptista Latuche,[81] Pedro Dragon,[82] Pedro Lataille, and David Lendroy.

May 7, 1795, the oath was taken by Ysidore Sherrette,[83] and James Bonhson.[84]

May 18, 1795, the oath was taken by W. Mesnor, Ysaiah Pachara,[85] Jehiel Stodeland,[86] and George Mcgui.[87]

May 22, 1795, the oath was taken by John Hrufru[88] [*sic*].

May 27, 1795, the oath was taken by Johan Stephen,[89] Hugh Akiens,[90] John Arat,[91] and Luis Heki.[92]

July 21, 1795, the oath was taken by William M. Fray, David Sheby,[93] John Alley, Miguel Burnes, Tomas Ally, George Shiro,[94] William Alley, David Shelby, Barnabas Burns,[95] William Bogard, James Trary,[96] Andrew Cose,[97] James Burns, Juan Rihvell,[98] Basilio Bougard,[99] and Samuel Parker.

December 13, 1795, the oath was taken by E. Francisco Boequet,[100] Pierre Gueruge,[101] Juan Baptista Ladouevo,[102] John Hernes,[103] John Trang, George Ope,[104] Juan Nicholas,[105] and Antonio Houton.[106]

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[1] This may be Prior Duncan, who in 1812 was one of the settlers of North Missouri, and who during the war was in Fort Hempstead.

[2] A native of Detroit, married Marie Josephe Robert. He came to New Madrid from Vincennes. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 141, note 47.

[3] This is François de Salle, dit Cayolle, or Cailhol, who was one of the first settlers opposite Prairie du Chien, where he claimed 7,065 arpens under a grant of De Lassus, land which he afterward sold to Julien Dubuque. He married Magdalena de Lor at Carondelet, where he was also a lot owner.

[4] This name probably stands for Des Chaillions or Eschaillons.

[5] Jean Baptiste Moise or Moyse, from Vincennes.

[6] This name is probably for "Greathouse," which was thus translated by a Spanish official. The name is quite common in Maryland and Pennsylvania.

[7] Enoch Bodwell. He afterward lived on Bayou Pierre in the Mississippi territory.

[8] This name stands for George Unruh, a German, who wrote his name thus in German letters as appears in the New Madrid Archives. The name is spelled in the American state papers "Onrow" and "Unerous." He had a concession on Lake Eulalie.

[9] David Gray, was a native of Dunbar, Massachusetts, son of Alexander and Margaret Melville. Before he came to New Madrid he lived at Kaskaskia, and received a donation of land for military service. He was interpreter in New Madrid for the Spanish officials and perfect master of the French and Spanish languages. He married Dinah Martin, widow of Azor Rees, and daughter of Mathias Martin and Eleanor Griffin of Pennsylvania, but she secured a divorce from Gray on account of cruel treatment, the divorce being granted by the Post commandant of New Madrid. Mrs. Gray is mentioned by Rev. Timothy Flint as a woman of rare culture and learning.

[10] A corporal in the Spanish service, who was witness in many instances and also acted as secretary or scrivener for the commandant.

[11] Perhaps Juan Metz.

[12] Is this the ancestor or a relative of the George Druillard killed by the Blackfoot Indians, and a celebrated hunter, and master "of the common language of gesticulation"? See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. iii, p. 93, note 71, and Lewis and Clark's Expedition edited by Elliot Coues, vol. i, p. 256, note 30. This name is spelled also Drewyer by Clark. It is found among the first settlers of Detroit.

[13] A sergeant in the Spanish service at New Madrid. He wrote a fine hand, and many of the documents in the early New Madrid Archives are in his handwriting.

[14] Several persons in early New Madrid were named Joseph Thompson. A Joseph Thompson lived at Vincennes, and claimed a settlement right there and it is likely that this Thompson moved to New Madrid. A Joseph Thompson, senior, and junior, both received land grants in the Cape Girardeau district, but I can find no grant in the New Madrid district to a person of this name. Perhaps the Joseph Thompson named here and who took the oath went up the river to the Cape Girardeau district.

[15] Azor Rees, was a large slave holder who married Dinah Martin (see note 9). This Azor Rees may have been related to Ebenezer Rees a land speculator in 1790 near Natchez.

[16] Henri Peyroux. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. i, pp. 347-349.

[17] Bart McLaughlin.

[18] Dr. Elisha Jackson.

[19] George Juneau, or Juneux, a name found in Lower Louisiana.

[20] It may be inferred that this Lucas was a painter and not a good one. "Despeentreirux" stands likely for "dit paintureur" or "alias dauber."

[21] An early school teacher of New Madrid.

[22] He afterward moved to St. Charles, where he acted as secretary of the commandant, Don Carlos Tayon. He was chanter of the church. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 86.

[23] A soldier in the Spanish service.

[24] The name Hamelin is found in New Madrid and it may be that this name stands for it. Adeline (also spelled Edeline) was a name found among the ancient habitants of Vincennes.

[25] This is the name of a Spanish soldier. Ventura is an abbreviation of the name Bonaventura or Buenaventura.

[26] George Wilson. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 149.

[27] Jacob Logan.

[28] Probably from Kaskaskia, where a John Collins served in the militia. In 1793 a person of the same name secured a Spanish grant on Buffalo Creek in the present state of Mississippi.

[29] John Waldo.

[30] Probably Abijah House.

[31] Louis Vandenbenden, came to New Madrid from Gallipolis. He was appointed engineer of Upper Louisiana by Carondelet and entrusted with the construction of the fortifications of St. Louis. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. i, p. 345; vol. ii, p. 155. He married Françoise Godfrey, daughter of Rene Godfrey and Françoise Randu, natives of Normandy, France.

[32] Pierre Menard, afterwards a leading merchant of Kaskaskia, a member of the great fur-trading firm of Chouteau, Menard and Vallé. He was also Indian agent for the United States and first Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois.

[33] Perhaps for Cresswell.

[34] Dick Martin?

[35] Peter Green.

[36] Jean Decelle, from Fort de Chartres. As to the Decelle family see *ante*, p. 99, note 40.

[37] François Xavier Tusignan. A Pierre Tusignan lived in St. Louis.

[38] Louis Scipion de Marquet, a native of Nantes, France, was a captain of a company of militia at New Madrid. He was the son of Don François de Marquet, Chevalier of the order of St. Louis, at one time captain of French cavalry, who lived about five miles north of New Madrid, and died there in 1794. His son, Louis Scipion, also had been in the French service. No doubt Bernardin de Marquet was also his son. The name of Sarrasin de Marquet is also found in the New Madrid Archives, but it may be the same as Bernardin.

[39] Probably for George Rawls.

[40] John Coombs.

[41] This must be De la Valiniere, at this time Vicar-General of the Bishop of Baltimore in the Illinois country east of the river. Why he should have taken the oath of allegiance to Spain at New Madrid is not quite clear, nor why he should have visited New Madrid, a district without the jurisdiction of the

Bishop of Baltimore. Perhaps it was on a spiritual errand and to administer to the flock at New Madrid, Father Gibault having died there in 1802.

[42] F. Albert?

[43] Francis Seavers, or Saviour, a name afterward found in the Cape Girardeau district.

[44] George Burrows.

[45] Undoubtedly another German immigrant from Pennsylvania, or from the German settlement in the south, but his name is not found again in the Louisianas.

[46] Michael Moore.

[47] Joseph McCourtney, an Irishman, and according to the Archives a protestant.

[48] John Summers, a native of Glasgow, Scotland, who afterward removed to the Cape Girardeau district.

[49] A corporal in the Louisiana regiment. At one time he was stationed at St. Louis.

[50] The name of Lasarre is afterward found in Lower Louisiana.

[51] Mark Ravelle, came from Kaskaskia, where he made a claim for land on account of militia service. Ravalet is also the name of an ancient Vincennes family, and this Ravel may belong to it.

[52] Spelled variously Cadron, Cardon, Cordon, Cordron and Calderon, dit St. Pierre. He came from Kaskaskia. The mountain so-called in Arkansas was perhaps named from this family.

[53] André Godair, dit Tagarouche, a native of Vincennes, son of Pierre Godair and Susan Bolon. This André married Barbe Hunot, a daughter of Joseph Hunot and after her death Françoise Bonneau.

[54] Cowherd?

[55] François Daperon or Dapron.

[56] Alexis Tirard, dit St. Jean, a Ste. Genevieve name and family.

[57] Charles Tellier, or Teller.

[57] May be Anathose de Meziere, who afterward lived in Lower Louisiana on the Red River at Nachitoches.

[59] Alexander Breard, lived on the Ouachita in Lower Louisiana.

[60] Auguste Chevalier Brear de Breville.

[61] William Woods.

[62] F. Biron, a Kaskaskia name.

[63] Cornelius Seeley.

[64] James O'Bryan.

[65] John Frazer.

[66] Robert O'Hara.

[67] Isidore Dupuy or Dupuis.

[68] Louis Girard, dit Tibeau. A Jean Baptiste Girard lived in St. Louis. This Louis probably came from Ste. Genevieve or St. Louis.

[69] Pascal Courier, from Cahokia, a brother of François Courier who in 1780 and 1783 was justice of the peace there. The family name is Lefebre, and was also known by the name of Courier, dit Lafleur.

[70] Thomas Twentyman, afterward found in Cooper County.

[71] Jacob Crow.

[72] Isaac Crow.

[73] Mathew McCormick.

[74] Jacob Reaume.

[75] Louis Barsaloux, from Kaskaskia.

[76] Alexander Grand Pre, probably a relative of Don Carlos de Grand Pre, Governor of Natchez and Baton Rouge.

[77] Came no doubt from Vincennes.

[78] William Duggan.

[79] This Philip Engel was a native of the Duchy of Darmstadt, Germany. He married Josepha Rochelot, August 13, 1783, was Justice of the Peace at Cahokia until 1790 and from Cahokia seems to have removed to New Madrid. No doubt he was related to John Wendel Engel, a business man of St. Louis. The latter, who deserted his wife, was at Ste. Genevieve in 1796 and on the Saline in 1802, while his name is found also among the settlers of Marais des Liards. Philip Engel from New Madrid it appears moved to Concordia Parish in lower Louisiana.

[80] Francis Burette.

[81] Perhaps Baptiste Eustache or Tash.

[82] Pierre Dagneau, from Vincennes.

[83] Isidor Skerret, who lived on Lake St. Marys. He came from "Cumberland" (possibly the county), Pennsylvania.

[84] James Johnson.

[85] Isiah Packard.

[86] Eli Strickland lived in Ste. Genevieve afterward where he received a land grant. He came originally from Kentucky.

[87] George McGee, who was found after this time on the waters of the Amitie in Mississippi territory.

[88] Probably this name is for John Renfroe or Rufner.

[89] No doubt a German, Johann Stephan.

[90] Akins or Atkins.

[91] Perhaps Hared.

[92] Lewis Hickey.

[93] David Shelby, a brother of Isaac Shelby. He died at New Madrid.

[94] George Shiras.

[95] Michel and Barnabas Burns afterward settled in the Bois Brule bottom.

[96] Possibly Tracy.

[97] Andrew Cross.

[98] John Revelle.

[99] Basil Bogard, or Bergaud, a Vincennes name.

[100] François Pacquet, or Bequet.

[101] Pierre Gareau.

[102] Probably Jean Baptiste Lanquedoc, a name found in Vincennes.

[103] John Hernet, a name found among the residents of Kaskaskia.

[104] George Hope.

[105] Perhaps John Nicholls.

[106] Or Houston.

LXIII

FORTIFICATIONS OF ST. LOUIS — 1793

General Archives of the Indies -- Seville — Audiencia de Santo Domingo, Luisiana, y Florida — Luisiana and Florida Duplicates of the Governors and Intendants [1793]; Estante 86; Cajón 6; Legajo 26.

First letter:]

YOUR EXCELLENCY:

Brigadier General Don Estevan Miró, when governor of Luisiana, transmitted to me June 6, 1791, a copy of the letter sent him by the Lieutenant Governor of Ylinoa reporting the appearance of some English on the River Misury, the mouth of which is five leagues above our settlements in that region. He proposed as a remedy for the difficulty the construction of two forts, which the said governor did not consider necessary.

As the report of the Lieutenant Governor of Ilinoa had not the information necessary for one without local knowledge of territories of which there is no map in this captaincy-general, nor any accounts of sufficient accuracy and precision upon which to base conclusions, I asked the Baron de Carondelet to obtain all requisite data, and report to me what course he thought best. I also asked him in the meantime to follow his own judgment in taking whatever measures should be urgent.

In a letter of January 10, Carondelet enclosed the accompanying map and the documents, which I send Your Excellency after having put them before Don Cayetano Payeto, commandant of engineers, with whose opinion, a copy of which I also forward to Your Excellency, I agree. His majesty upon being acquainted with these documents and with what the governor remarks as to this plan will decide what he shall judge to be most in accordance with his wise purposes.

God protect Your Excellency many years.

Havana, June 14, 1793.

My most excellent Lord,—

LUIS DE LAS CASAS.

[*Endorsed:* The Captain General of Luisiana sends the plan of the fort proposed for San Luis de Ylinoa, and also of another which is being constructed for the reasons set forth in the documents enclosed.

Second letter:]

YOUR EXCELLENCY: In compliance with your Excellency's order dated February 17 of last year I have to report that under present circumstances the establishment of the two forts proposed by the then Lieutenant Governor of Ylinoa, Don Manuel Perez, as the only means to restrain the introduction of the English to the Misouris seems to me not only useless but dangerous. They are useless because two forts in a region such as that, extending over more than two hundred and fifty miles of uninhabited country, will never interfere with the communication and the passage of the English to the tribes living near the Misouris. They are dangerous because, this province being so destitute of forces that it can scarcely maintain a garrison of two hundred men at San Luis de Ylinoa, at five hundred leagues distance from this capital, it is evident that these forts situated farther up by eighty leagues or more, in the midst of the warlike tribes who surround them, will immediately excite the wrath of the English, and will also arouse the resentment of these same tribes who are so well disposed toward the latter, so that the forts will be exposed at every instant to the attacks of the one or the other without having any place to rely upon for reinforcements.[1]

Your Excellency may test the truth of what I affirm by the condition in which I found the fort of San Luis when I arrived in this province. This town, which is diminishing daily, was entirely open to the attacks of the savages, insomuch that having received within a few days after taking possession of this governorship a report from the commandant there, Don Manuel Perez, proposing the execution of the plan enclosed — exhibit 1 — for a fort, the expense of which was estimated at eighty thousand [*sic* in transcript] pesos, I decided to give the captain of this regular regiment, Don Zenón Trudeauc, orders for the fort mentioned in the said report, provided that it should not exceed the cost of two thousand pesos. This I did since they would have to wait for more than ten months to receive my order. By the accompanying statement — exhibit 3 — Your Excellency will perceive that I made no mistake in the idea which I had formed; and by the plan — exhibit 4 — Your Excellency will be completely informed as to the situation and other advantages of this fort, which will be strong enough to resist an attack not only by Indians but likewise by any kind of troops not supported by sufficient artillery.

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[1] On the whole, however, the Spanish relations with the Indians were good, and far better than those of the English and Americans.

At the same time, considering that the savages in case of war might succeed in entering the town from the west side, I have sent the said commandant the enclosed orders — exhibit 5.

The proposition which he makes in his report, a copy of which I enclose — exhibit 6 — to build some barracks at an expense of not more than fifteen hundred pesos seems to me highly advantageous to the royal interests and necessary for the safety of this post. With this idea I lay it before Your Excellency, hoping for your answer sanctioning the execution of the plan, as I likewise hope for your approval of all that has been done, if, as I desire, I have had the good fortune to carry out your intentions, constantly directed to the best service of His Majesty.

God protect Your Excellency many years.

Nueva Orleans, January 10, 1793.

My most excellent Lord,

El Barón de Carondelet.

Addressed: "To His Excellency, Don Luis de las Casas."

Copy 2, No. 1.

As soon as you shall take possession of the command of the post of San Luis de Ylinoa and its dependencies, you will see to it that it is put in a condition to resist any attack that may be made by savage tribes, for which purpose, provided that it is impossible to repair the stockade which protected the town without exceeding two thousand pesos total expense, you will have the tower repaired in case it may be put in order for the same sum, or else you will select an advantageous situation which is not commanded by any other and surround it with a good stockade and a corresponding banquette. At the angles shall be placed the eight cannon for its defence upon a sort of trestles which shall be erected on them in such a manner that the size of the enclosure being made proportionate to the number of troops and citizens it will be able to protect, the fort will be put in respectable condition as against the savages, who will not expose themselves to its fire in the mere hope of sacking the town, especially when they know that the most precious of the possessions of the citizens will be guarded in the fort.

This same enclosure being erected around the tower in which the troops, the ammunition, the provisions, and the most valuable possessions of the inhabitants may be gathered for refuge, will surely in my opinion, form a strong and very useful fort.

No. 2.

I have arranged that this fort of San Luis de Ylinoa shall be guarded and defended by four good cannon of 6 inches calibre, four of 4 inches, and all the ramrods and ammunition necessary to serve them according to the accompanying report, a copy of which remains in the office of the secretary of this government.

No. 3.

The battery which commands the river must be given up, since, as there is no way of protecting its artillery, the enemy will take advantage of it to beat down the tower and break the stockade. Hence it must be regarded as settled that the eight cannon referred to shall indispensably serve as a protection of the fort; and this order you shall not fail to observe on any pretext.

No. 4.

You will give orders that the gun-carriages, sponges, ramrods, and handspikes which are lacking shall promptly be made, and will send to this office an inventory of them, with their cost, that payment may be made by this treasury, and that a voucher may be left with the secretary of this province.

You will send to this city the two cannons of six inch calibre and the six cannons of two inch calibre which will be found useless in the said post.

I expect from your valor and intelligence that in any event you will defend the post entrusted to you with all the energy, activity, talent, and brilliancy of achievement which have always distinguished Spanish officers. May God protect you many years.

New Orleans, March 26, 1793.

El Barón de Carondelet.

Addressed: "Señor Don Zenón Trudeau."

Exhibit 3 B.

I transmit to Your Lordship the plan of this place and of its fortifications, from which Your Lordship will see the impossibility of placing the present tower in the middle of the fort which I am constructing. The reason is that because of the slope of the height on which it stands the bastion is without a banquette or esplanade, and an expenditure of a thousand pesos will be necessary to put it in a state of defense. The casemate B is what it seems to me Your Lordship calls the battery of the river, and has given me orders to destroy. These orders I shall not execute until I have heard again from Your Lordship. It is a good building which may be used for other purposes in the royal service, or may even be sold. Up to the present time a guard has been maintained to watch what passes on the river and to prevent the entry of strangers into the town; and it seems to me that the casemate is still useful. Your Lordship will determine upon this matter as seems best to you. God protect Your Lordship many years.

San Luis de Ylinoa, October 16, 1792.

Zenón Trudeau.

Addressed: "Señor Barón de Carondelet."

Exhibit 5.

I approve the plan sent by you October 16, representing the fort under construction in conformity with my previous orders. Its commanding situation corresponds with the idea which I had previously formed, and it is of no importance that the tower should be in the middle of the fort. To be effective it is only necessary that it should be inside of it and should command the surrounding country.

Bastion A, although it has no espalande or banquette, may serve the inhabitants as a refuge against an Indian attack. By means of a redoubt of earth and stakes which may be made at the left angle of the town at a short distance from the creek (*arroyo*), the entire settlement will be protected, for the Indians will never dare to put themselves between the cross-fires of this redoubt, of the tower, of Bastion A, and of the casemate B to attack buildings made of stone and hence easily defended.

Considering the excessive distance from the fort of the tower to the redoubt of the creek, and to bastion A, it will be very desirable to open loop holes toward the country in one of the most commandingly situated houses at an intermediate location within the three points, whose gunfire will cross the fire from them and will make the entry into the town extremely dangerous.

Casemate B is to be kept for the present, since it is not at all what has been called the river battery. On a plan sent to this office by your precedessor this was marked as lying half way between the town and the bank of the Mississippi; and since it is necessary to bring the artillery together and to protect it in a single well-supported position, I determined under the circumstances to destroy the aforesaid battery.

You, Sir, have done well to begin upon the construction of the fort without waiting for new orders, and also to add to it four bastions which the conformation of the country requires and which will cost not more than about two thousand pesos,— a sum at which I estimated the cost of the fortification.

It is indispensable to add to these expenditures the cost of a well or cistern sufficient to provide the garrison with water during the siege. This you will put into execution as economically as possible.

One thing which it seems to me might be omitted is the powder magazine, for the powder needed for a siege might be put in the tower, after the necessary repairs have been made.

As to this point you will guide yourself by circumstances, remembering that stout beams set firmly in the form of a roof are sufficient in a siege to cover the provisions and ammunition from the effects of shells.

In case of attack or of a war with the Indian tribes threatening this town, I give you authority to raise the redoubt of stakes with a ball-proof parapet of stone or earth. You may also dig a fosse at the end of the creek. In the contrary event, you will wait for the decision of the Captain General, which I shall ask for in time.

The essential point at present is to put the fort of the tower in a position to resist an attack supported by artillery. To this end, provided that the slope of the height permits it, you will raise a parapet around it five feet in height in the form of a glacis, leaving a covered way at least twelve feet wide, in which you will set a heavy stockade, leaving between the stakes six inches clear. This will give the troops room to pierce with the bayonet any enemy who may leap or fall between it and the parapet. Such a fortification can be made at small expense and adds infinitely to the strength of a fort, the foot of which may be defended against the effects of artillery.

God protect you many years.

Nueva Orleans. EL BARON DE CARONDELET.

Exhibit 6.

The king pays annually two hundred and sixty pesos for quarters for this garrison, and the troops will remain at a distance from the fort which I am building. This state of affairs makes much large guards necessary and causes much fatigue. Hence I propose to Your

Lordship that I should build inside the said fort barracks of good cedar wood, fifty feet in length and twenty-five in breadth, which will cost at most one thousand five hundred pesos, including a kitchen, and will last thirty years. The king will save the two hundred and sixty pesos which he annually spends, while the troops will be protected from any accident and will be less subject to fatigue.

You will please send from the capital six hundred pounds of assorted nails in case Your Lordship approves my project, and the ring hinges, pin hinges, and hooks for four doors and eight windows. In this way a hundred and fifty pesos may be saved by the difference of price in these articles between the capital and here. God protect Your Lordship many years.

San Luis, de Ylinoa, November 12, 1792.

ZENON TRUDEAU.

Addressed: "Señor Barón de Carondelet."

Office of the Commandant of Engineers.

YOUR EXCELLENCY:

In fulfilment of the commission of Your Excellency of the eighteenth inst., in which you are pleased to enclose for me the plan of the fort proposed for the town of San Luis de Ylinoa by the Governor of Luisiana the Barón de Carondelet, with directions that I should express my opinion and return the plan and the accompanying documents with those which had preceded them, I see clearly that the new fort which is being constructed under orders from the Barón de Carondelet, on the heights commanding the country around, and the town of San Luis de Ylinoa, to protect it from a surprise attempted by Indians on the warpath, will suffice to fulfil the object proposed. The person on the ground charged with the construction must not depart from the prudent orders given in paper No. 5 by His Lordship, the Baron. This I may say since the two plans which have been sent to make clear the ideas of His Lordship the Baron, are very confused.

Battery No. 15 of plan No. 1, of eight cannon, situated on the salient angle formed by the bank of the river Misisipi, does not seem to be in existence, and it will be useful even if there are no more than three pieces of cannon for the defense of the river.

The palisade covering the right and left flank and supported by the river Misisipi will also serve the purpose of greatly strengthening the defenses, provided the aim is good and does not follow the line of points, for the defenders would be exposed to their own shot. But this is easily corrected with a very little trouble. It must be remembered that troops at night do not know where to direct their fire and must aim to the front of the parapet or palisade, and shoot away from it. In this way, by aiming out into the country and not against their own defenses, they will be sure to avoid the damage which might be caused on a dark night.

The Barón de Carondelet in his orders gives directions that loopholes are to be cut in the walls of some of the houses on the side of the town looking toward the fort, because of the very extended front here. This is with the idea of forming barricades and screens of palisades at the ends of the streets of the town in order to withstand a sudden charge by Indians on the warpath. It is likely that by means of these entrenchments a glorious defense will result. These are the ideas of His Lordship, and none of them are included in the plans.

The barracks which it is proposed to erect within the fort, the cost of which as stated, will not exceed one thousand five hundred pesos, seem to be absolutely necessary. Forts have no more efficacy than is given them by the men employed in their defense. If there are no men in them they are not only useless, but they are injurious to the state and to the royal treasury. And if there are any men, there must be barracks to cover them.

This is all I can suggest in the fulfilment of my commission. Our Lord protect Your Excellency many years.

Havana, May, 28, 1793.

My most Excellent Lord, Your humble servant,

CAYETANO PAYETO.

To His Excellency Señor Don Luis de las Casas.

LXIV

VIAL'S JOURNAL — 1793

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Audiencia of Santo Domingo, Luisiana, and Florida — Duplicates of Governors and Intendants for the year 1793; Estante 86; Cajón 6; Legajo 26.

Synopsis:]

The Captain-General of Luisiana sends a copy of documents and the journal of the voyage made from Nuevo Mexico to the post of Ylinoa in that province.

Letter from the Captain-General:]

YOUR EXCELLENCY:

Your Excellency will be advised by the enclosed copy of the letter of the Governor of Luisiana and the documents which accompany it, of the voyage made by Pedro Vial from the city of Santa Fée in Nuevo Mexico to the Post of San Luis de Ylinoa in that province. I have informed the Viceroy of Nuevo España[1] of its outcome, in order that, together with the information concerning this voyage communicated to him by Governor Don Fernando de la Concha,[2] he may form his ideas better; and [I have informed] Your Excellency for the effects that this knowledge may best subserve, and to see whether you deign it worth while to inform His Majesty thereof.

May God preserve Your Excellency many years. Havana, February 5, 1793. Your Excellency,

LUIS DE LAS CASAS (rubric).

Addressed: "His Excellency, Count del Campo de Alange."[3]

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[1] The viceroy referred to was Juan Vicente de Güemes Pacheco de Padilla, Conde de Revilla Gigedo, who had taken office at Guadalupe, October 16, 1789. He served until 1794, when his successor arrived before Revilla Gegido's five years were ended. See Bancroft, History of Mexico, vol. iii, 478.

[2] Fernando de la Concha succeeded Gov. Anza as Spanish governor of New Mexico in the middle of 1789, being succeeded in 1794 by Lieut.-Col. Fernando Chacon. See Bancroft, Arizona and New Mexico, p. 268.

[3] Manuel José Antonio Hilario, the second Conde Campo Alange, was conceded the rank of honorary grandee of Spain in 1792, by Charles IV. He was a Captain-general, minister of war, and Ambassador to Vienna and Lisbon. His death occurred in 1818. See Diccionario Encliclopédico Hispano-Americano, vol. iv, p. 379.

Copy of a letter from Baron de Carondelet.]

Your Excellency:

For Your Excellency's due knowledge, I enclose under numbers 1, 2, 3, and 4, the copy of a letter from the Lieutenant-Governor of the Post of Ylinoa, Captain Don Zenon Trudeau, in which he informs me of the voyage made by Pedro Vial to our settlements from the city of Santa Fée of the Nuevo Reyno de Mexico [*i. e.*, New Kingdom of Mexico], by order of His Excellency, the Viceroy of Nueva España, and by the arrangement of the governor of that province, Don Fernando de la Concha; the instructions given by the latter to the one commissioned; the recommendation which he presented to that Lieutenant-Governor; and lastly, the relation of his voyage.

May God preserve Your Excellency many years. Nueva Orleans, January 10, 1793. Your Excellency.

Baron de Carondelet.

Addressed: "His Excellency, Don Luis de las Casas."

Letter from Trudeau:]

No. 1.

Last night Pedro Vial arrived from the city of Santa Fé of the Kingdom of Nuevo Mexico, with two young men who accompanied him. He had been commissioned by the Governor of that province, Don Fernando de la Concha, to open a road from said city to these settlements. He has delivered to me an official communication addressed to me and his instructions for his procedure during his voyage, of which I send a copy to Your Lordship. I also send the journal which he made in the course of his voyage. All this will inform Your Lordship of the purpose of the said voyage, and all that occurred during it. It appears that it he will remain all this winter in this place, as it is not the season to undertake the return voyage to Santa Fé. That would not have happened if he had not encountered an obstacle that had to be conquered, for he tells me that he could have arrived at this place in twenty-five days' good march.

I find it necessary to supply them with provisions and the clothes which they need during their stay, as well as the necessary equipment when they resume their march. I shall do everything with the fitting economy. May God preserve Your Lordship many years. San Luis de Ylinneses, October 7, 1792.

Zenon Trudeau.

Addressed: "Baron de Carondelet."
Endorsed: "Baron de Carondelet."

Letter from Concha:]

No. 2.

Pedro Vial, who is appointed by order of His Excellency, the Viceroy of Nueva España, to open communication in this province which is under my charge, between it and the other settlements which the King possessses in this America, sets out on this day with the design of opening communication with respect to Los Ylinneses, which is a dependency of the government of Luisiana. He is accompanied by only two persons of this country; and, according to the knowledge which he possesses of the barbarous tribes who lie between, and the distance which we imagine to be to the said point, it is to be supposed that he will arrive at the Fort of San Luis, under the command of Your Grace, some time during the next month of June. I hope that, in obedience to the best service of the King, Your Grace will inform him immediately upon his arrival of all that appears fitting for the full accomplishment of his commission; and that at the time of his return, you will supply him with what is unavoidably necessary for his route. His return is to be by a different road than the one which he is taking [to reach there], as Your Grace will see by the instructions which I have given him, and which he is to present.

Whatever small expense he may incur during his stay and his return, Your Grace may, if you deem best, apply to the extraordinary expenses of the Province of Luisiana, or hand me a justificative document, so that I may pay from the extraordinary expenses allotted to this province, the sum to the amount indicated to me. However, since this expense is always on His Majesty's account, I consider the first method less complicated.

May God preserve Your Grace many years. Santa Fé del Nuevo Mexico, May 21, 1792.

Fernando de la Concha.

Addressed: "Commandant of the Fort of San Luis, in the jurisdiction of Los Ylinneses."

A copy of the original, which I retain, to send at a more fitting occasion. San Luis, October 7, 1792. Zenon Trudeau.

Addressed: "Baron de Carondelet."

Concha's Instructions to Vial:]

No. 3.

Instructions to be followed by Pedro Vial, who has been appointed to open direct communication with our settlements of Los Ylinneses, which are located on the shores of the Misuri River, and are dependencies of the government of the Province of Luisiana.

1. He shall leave this city May 22, for the village of Pecos, accompanied by the inhabitants of the same, namely, Josef Vicente Villanueva and Vicente Espinosa, who shall obey the said Vial in all things, and each of whom shall be paid thirty pesos in silver to be given them immediately upon their return. Vial shall assign them four horses from those which he takes belonging to the King, in order to make their voyage, and their necessary support.

2. From Pecos he shall direct his march to the eastward to the villages of the Magages. From that point he shall proceed east north east which is the place where the Misuri River runs, in the district nearest Los Ylinneses. By means of the compass which he carries and the explanations which I have made to him thereof, it will be very easy not to make any mistake in the above-cited directions.

3. From Pecos to the villages of the Magages, it is natural that he will meet no other tribes than those of our allies the Cumanches on whose aid and knowledge he can count with all safety.

4. Both in this first crossing and in the following until arriving at the point of his destination, he shall endeavor to keep a diary, as exact as possible, noting therein the directions which he takes; the daily distances; the rivers which he finds, their flow, and the quantity of their waters; the mountains and tablelands which present themselves to him, explaining their configuration, and supplying to them names analogous to it; the tribes whom he finds, their customs and what he may find out from them; and whatever else he believes can be of use for new information and clearness.

5. When he has arrived at Los Ylinneses he shall rest for so long a time as he considers absolutely necessary. He shall present himself to the commandant in charge of that detachment, and shall give him the official communication, which he takes from me, and these instructions, and shall ask him for what is very necessary for his return, which must be in the next month of September.

6. He shall begin his return in the direction of the west and west northwest, passing through the settlements of the Pananas and As [Osages] until he comes to those of the Cumanche tribe, where he has no need to touch, and to the Ricarax [*i. e.*, Rickarees] and, reaching the Napestle River, he shall come straight to this capital.

He shall always endeavor to explain in full detail in his diary all the circumstances mentioned in article 3 relative to his going.

7. Whatever unforeseen accident occurs during his march, he shall overcome it, and remove it according as his prudence and his knowledge assist him, in the manner that he believes most useful to the service of the King, and the honor of this Province.

8. Since the above-mentioned Vial does not possess a sufficient knowledge of Spanish to enable him to make a diary sufficiently clear in that language, he is advised to keep his own in French, so that after translating it as soon as he returns, I may sign it in order that it may be forwarded to the superior government.

Santa Fé, May 21, 1792.

FERNANDO DE LA CONCHA.

Drawn exactly from the original. San Luis, October 7, 1792.

ZENON TRUDEAU.

Addressed: "Baron de Carondelet."

Vial's Journal:]

No. 4.

Diary of the voyage undertaken by me, Pedro Vial, at the order of Don Fernando de la Concha, Colonel of the royal armies, and Governor from Santa Fé del Nuevo Mexico to San Luis de Ylinneses, in the Province of Luisiana, accompanied by two young men, Vicente Villanueva and Vicente Espinosa.

May 21, 1792. We left the city of Santa Fé and went to sleep in the village of Peco, a distance of seven leagues.[4]

May of '92, 22. We stayed quiet in the said village in order to arrange our packs.

23. We left said village taking an easterly direction, and made camp at night in the mountains distant five leagues away.

24. We have come to sleep at the River Peco, after a march of four leagues.

25. We left in the morning about seven, and marched about one league constantly in the same easterly direction. We met seven Comanches with their wives, among whom was a Spanish interpreter on his way from San Antonio de Bexar. They made us return to the Peco River in joy at having met me, for it was a long time since they had seen me. Consequently we lost the march of that day.

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[4] In his journal, Vial adds in figures in the margin after each entry the distance traversed, and at the foot of each page the total distance, carrying over this total to the succeeding page.

May of '92, 26. We left in the morning in the same easterly direction and went to sleep at the River of Gallina,[5] having made 10 leagues.

27. We left in the morning about seven, toward the northeast. We marched through a plain and tableland for a distance of about six leagues.

28. We left about seven in the morning in the same northeasterly direction, and marched about six leagues, going that distance in order to stop at a creek which flows into the Colorado [*i. e.*, Rio Grande] River.

29. We advanced in an easterly direction through plains and went to sleep at the Colorado River, making about six leagues.

30. We followed the same easterly direction, also always through plains along the bank of the Colorado River, and made camp on that river after having marched about six leagues.

31. We left in the same direction and along the same river and slept a short distance from it. We lost a horse. We made about six leagues.

June 1, '92. We left in the morning in the same direction, and along the same river, having continued ever to march through plains, for about three leagues.

2. We followed the same river and easterly direction, always through plains. We stopped at noon because of the bad weather, after marching about six leagues.

3. We followed the same direction and river always through plains, and reached a river, which prevented us from crossing because of its current and volume. We made about two leagues.

4. We crossed said river in the morning, always going in the same direction through plains and tablelands. We marched about eight leagues.

5. We left in the morning about half-past six, in the same easterly direction, marching through plains and tablelands. We made about eight leagues.

6. We did not march as I was sick, until the 17th, when we left in the morning in the same easterly direction and along the same river, marching about three leagues.

18. In the morning about seven, we continued in the same

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[5] This is the Gallinas, a mountain creek which rises above Las Vegas, and joins the Pecos a short distance below Anton Chico. See Archaelogical Institute of America, Amer. series, IV, Part II, "The Upper Valley of the Rio Pecos, the Rio Gallinas, and the eastern limits of the Pueblo Country."

direction and found many creeks. We marched about five leagues.

19. We left at noon along the same river and in the same direction, and made a march of three leagues.

20. We left at noon along the same route and direction and marched about six leaguess.

21. We left about noon through bad ways, and marched by land a distance of three leagues.

22. We left about seven in the morning leaving the Colorado River, and taking the direction of the northeast in search of the Napeste River, which we call in French the Arkansas River. We found another river which flows into the Colorado and we named it the San Acacio. It was of great volume and its shores are very high. We made about six leagues.

23. We left in the morning in the northeasterly direction, always on the lookout for the Napeste River. We found another river which flows into the Colorado River, which we named the River of San Juan. We made about five leagues.

24. We left about seven in the morning in the same northeasterly direction, always on the lookout for the above-mentioned Napeste River, marching through plains. After making about three leagues, we found a river with quite a flow of water. We made about six leagues.

June of '92, 25. We left early in the morning giong north, in search of the above-mentioned Napeste River. We found a river which is quite large, and which flows into the Colorado. We named it the San Guillemo River. We marched about eight leagues.

26. We left about noon because of the bad weather that had come in the night, going in the same direction. We made about four leagues.

27. We left early in the same northly direction, in search of the above mentioned Napeste River. We journeyed through spacious lands and reached the above-mentioned Napeste River. We camped for the night on its shores, after marching about eight leagues.[6]

28. We kept quiet all the day in order to rest our horses.

29. We left in the morning at daybreak along the said river, which flowed east northeast. We found some buffaloes which the Indians had killed, and we believed that they were of the tribe of

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[6] The total distance marched is given at this point as one hundred and forty miles.

the Guachaches, who were hunting through that region. We went to find them, since I know that they are well inclined to the government of the Province of Luisiana. We found them about four in the afternoon in their hunting camp on the said shore of the Napeste River. As they approached us on the opposite side with river between us, we fired some shots into the air, to get them to see us. They immediately set out and came to stop us on the other side. Those who first met us grasped us cordially by the hand. I asked them of what tribe they were, and they told me that they were Cances. They immediately took possession of our horses, and of all our possessions and cut the clothes which we wore with knives, thus leaving us totally naked. They were of a mind to kill us, whereupon some of them cried out to those who were about to do it, not to kill us with guns or arrows because of the great risk that would be run of killing one another as they had surrounded us; but that if they killed us it should be by hatchet blows or by spears. One highly esteemed among them took up our defense, begging all of them to leave us alive. Thereupon another highly respected one came and taking me by the hand made me mount his own horse with him. Then another one came up behind and hurled a spear at me, but the one who had me on his horse restrained him by laying hold of him, leaving me alone on the horse. A crowd of them even coming to kill me from behind, his brother mounted behind me. Then one of them, who had been a servant in the village of San Luis de Ylinneses and who talked excellent French, came up to me, and recognized me. He began to cry out; "Do not kill him. We shall ascertain whence he is coming, for I know him." Taking the reins of my horse, he took me to his tent and said to me: "Friend, how your Grace must hurry if you wish to save your life, for among us it is the custom and law that after having eaten no one is killed." After having eaten hastily as he charged me, they left me quiet, and the chiefs having assembled after a moment came to me and asked me whence I was coming. I told them I was coming to open a road from Santa Fé to Los Ylinneses, having been sent by the Great Chief, their Spanish Father, and that I had letters for the Spanish Chief at Los Ylinneses. Thereupon they left me in quiet until the following day. My two companions did not fail to run the same dangers as myself, but they have also been saved by other Indians who were well inclined. On the following day they joined me, both naked. But the one called Vicente Villanueva had his horse cut and a dagger thrust in the abdomen which would have proved fatal had he not shrunk away when the blow was delivered. An Indian, who wished to save him, received all the force of the blow on his arm and was quite badly wounded. They kept us naked among them in the said camp until the fifteenth of August.

August 16, '92. We left with the above-mentioned Indians on their return to their village going in a northeasterly direction, and we have journeyed in ten days about fifty leagues through level plains.[7]

25. We reached their village, which is located on the River of the Kances. That river flows into the river called Misoury. We remained there until the eleventh of September, when a Frenchman came with a pirogue laden with various sorts of merchandise, by permission of the government, to trade with that tribe. He supplied both me and my companions with garments with which to clothe ourselves. He gave us also one libra of vermilion worth five pesos of silver, four pesos' worth of tobacco and four sheets with one aune[8] of cloth, which was to be settled for with the Commandant on his return, as well as two libras of powder and four of balls, and a gun worth ten pesos.

September 16. We left the village of the Kances in search of the Misuri River with a pirogue belonging to three traders who were returning to the village of San Luis de Ylinneses. We arrived there October 6 at night. I presented myself to the Commandant and give him a letter from the Governor of Nuevo Mexico, as well as the instructions which I had received for the management and end of my voyage.

San Luis de Ylinneses, October 7, 1792.

Pedro Vial.[9]

Addressed: "Baron de Carondelet (rubric)."

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[7] The total distance traversed is given at this point as 190 leagues.

[8] Ell.

[9] See Chapter IV., Houck's History of Missouri, vol. i, p. 000, *et seq.*, and read account of march of Coronado in connection with this journal of the journey of Vial. Among the New Mexico papers in the Library of Congress are many treating of this Pedro Vial. He seems to have enjoyed the esteem and confidence of the Indians to a remarkable degree, and thus was a valuable Indian agent for the Spanish.

LXV

LETTER OF BARTHÈLEMI TARDIVEAU TO COUNT ARANDA PROPOSING TO ESTABLISH A GREAT FRENCH COLONY IN UPPER LOUISIANA.

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Translation:]

Single Document to Aranda[1] as a secret report, No. 15.

KASKASKIA, July 17, 1792.

SIR:

In his passage by the post of Santa Genoveva, I have had the honor of seeing Don Zenon Trudeau, and have had the satisfaction of being informed by him of the good reception that my remarks have merited from you. The news which he gave the habitants of the favorable reception which flour of fair quality of that part of the colony would obtain from the government has produced the best effect; and I have had the greatest pleasure in having heard them rejoice on this account, and to manifest that they are going to devote themselves entirely to the cultivation of wheat. I believe I shall favor their intentions by taking the necessary measures to construct a moderate-sized mill, which I hope will be done during the coming summer.

The Commandant of San Luis, with whom I have had many private conversations, has assured me, Sir Governor, that I could take the liberty of writing to Your Lordship, in order to communicate directly with you concerning the interesting objects which I have discussed with him, for I flatter myself that their importance will sufficiently justify my procedure.

Doubtless I have no need of devoting myself to showing the great interest which will result to Spain from establishing a numerous population on the western bank of the Misisipi. At all times Spain must have desired it in order to succeed in multiplying the human species to as great an extent as possible, the products of the soil, and the comforts of life, but the need has increased very greatly for some years back; inasmuch as we treat not only of giving value to a hitherto uncultivated country, but the interesting and urgent matter is to oppose this to the rapid developments of the Americans in the West and to erect a barrier between this bold people and the Spanish possessions, especially the Misuri and New Mexico, both considerable objects for an ambition which takes pleasure in promising itself happy results and which already is allowed to expand with such illusions.

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[1] Pedro Pablo Abarca y Bolea, Count de Aranda, born in Saragossa, 1718, was one of the leading statesmen of Spain in the 18th century. As prime minister of Charles III he did much to liberalize the commercial policy of Spain and in 1767 effected the expulsion of the Jesuits from that country. He clearly foresaw the effect the American Revolution would have on the territorial possessions of Spain in America, for in 1783 he predicted that the day would come when the United States would become "a giant, a colossus formidable" to the countries that assisted them to gain their independence. He died in 1799.

But where shall we get the number of men needed to cover a frontier so extensive, and which can, both by inclination and by virtue of their own convenience, remain inviolably inclined towards Spain? Will they be found in the United States? Without doubt a great number of families could be found who would embrace with satisfaction such an offer, but although it would always be well to get some of them because of their inventive genius, and their inclination to the arts, it is necessary that this be done in such wise that their number be much less than that of the other colonists. My residence of 15 years among them has taught me to know them well. Separated among foreigners, and, above all, separated from one another, they are docile and submissive to authority and are the ones who trouble themselves least about their independence. Let them form a body, although comparatively less [than the other nationalities], then that instant they become restless and no great time elapses before they aspire to take possession of the reins of government.

Prudence, therefore, excludes the idea of peopling Luisiana with American immigrants. Present occurrences in France and the Low Countries offer Spain, perhaps, the most favorable opportunity which can be desired for attracting to the Misisipi and Misuri a multitude of men as influential as the colony has had since its birth, which will form a respectable and impenetrable barrier for their ambitious neighbors.

I do not found these hopes, Sir Governor, on the simple conjectural theory of the political affairs of Europe. In support of my proposition I have very positive facts which I consider myself bound to impart to Your Lordship.

Your Lordship is not ignorant that a great number of persons respectable by their birth and by their fortune, and ill content with the innovations which have occurred in France, or, distrustful of their personal safety at a time of fermentation which has produced so many excesses bought a considerable portion of land on the Ohio and took refuge thereon, with a great number of artisan and farming families whom they took over at their own expense. I believe also that Your Lordship is aware that after three years of lost time and after huge sums of money have been spent, these unfortunate people have seen the destruction of their settlement and the scattering of the majority of their colonists who were bound in their service—both things occurring because the war between the Americans and the Indians has not permitted the company that sold the land to place the purchasers in the possession thereof.

The French emigrants, reduced therefore, on the one hand, to inhabit a narrow district on the banks of the Bella Ribera [*i. e.*, Belle Rivière or Ohio] without being able to separate in order to advance their cultivation; continually on the *qui vive* and in danger of being attacked by the Indians; and fatigued, on the other hand, by the innumerable snares and rogueries of which they have been the victims from the moment they struck America, have turned their glances towards the Misisipi and adopted with enthusiasm the idea that has come to them to go to settle near the river of Yllinois.[1]

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[1] This Scioto Land company was a land-speculating company organized by Col. William Duer, Joel Barlow and others. Although the company had contracted for land on credit only, Joel Barlow went to France and in 1790 sold the land, assuring all purchasers that the company owned the land. He aroused the greatest interest in his colony and land speculating scheme, the first of the kind launched after the Revolution, and his picture of making a French settlement on the Ohio attracted many sensible persons. Barlow studiously and skilfully concealing the facts, described the country, which was then unbroken wilderness, and subject to attack by ferocious savages, as possessing, "a climate wholesome and delightful, frost even in winter being almost unknown, and a river by way of eminence called the *Beautiful*, and abounding in fish of vast size. Noble forests, consisting of trees that spontaneously produce sugar, and a plant that yields ready made candles. Venison plenty, the pursuit of which is uninterrupted by wolves, foxes, lions or tigers. A couple of swine will multiply themselves a hundredfold in two or three years, without taking any care of them. No taxes to pay, no military services to be performed." Of course such an idyllic picture created a popular delusion and buyers of land on the banks of the Scioto became numerous and importunate. Thus land that was not worth ten cents an acre was sold for almost as much as land in the neighborhood of Paris. In 1790 over 500 adventurers left Paris, and after crossing the ocean, landed at Alexandria, in Virginia, sought the wilds on the banks of the Ohio, traveling through the wilderness over almost impassable roads, and finally in October 1790 reached their place of destination, named Gallipolis. The delusion and dream was dispelled by the naked facts and stern reality. Then the company became bankrupt, or at any rate the promot-

The site where they propose to locate begins opposite the mouth of the Misuri and extends twelve or fifteen leagues up the Misisipi. This project depends upon various circumstances which probably will retard its execution for some time. However, one of my friends in the name and by the order of the French Company, has written me to know whether I am ready to take an interest in this enterprise, and to entrust me with the supervision [*suerte*] of the emigrants, in order that I may furnish them their transportation, food, animals, etc., for which the Company will furnish the necessary funds, and in order to have the lands measured and distributed among them, in proportion as they arrive. They also asked me for definite information concerning the nature of that district, of the quality of its soil, and of the products for which it will be suitable. They desire anxiously to make a sufficiently considerable purchase, with the idea that the number of Frenchmen, who may settle, may be able, without admitting a single American, to form one of the confederated states, which, according to their laws, infers the existence of sixty thousand people.

They say that very great numbers of gentlemen and of other rich persons, who, as they prefer the old form of government or the exiled princes, have left France and that they fear or scorn to return thither, and have resolved to go to America with all their possessions, and an innumerable multitude of men dependent on them for different reasons. They assure me that they are only awaiting the information that is to be given them by the Marquis de Marnesil who is one of the principal purchasers of Sioto, in order to undertake the voyage.

Things being in this condition, my reply to their proposition has been with but little difference to the same effect as that expressed in this letter. I promised them to meet them in Philadelfia the beginning of next winter in order to discuss with Messrs. Marneria[1]

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ers failed to pay for the land which had been sold the French immigrants, Many of the immigrants lost everything. Many died and wasted away amidst uncongenial and cruel surroundings. Many moved away from the colony as best they could to find some means of making a living elsewhere. In this way some of these immigrants, floating down the Ohio beset by hostile Indians, reached the Mississippi and the Spanish possessions, and even then possessing a more congenial society than that of the rude and unappreciative American pioneers on the Ohio. Congress in 1796 donated these French adventurers 20,000 acres of land to indemnify them for their losses, this land being distributed among 80 families of these immigrants that remained, perhaps because they were too poor to move away.

[1] The Marquis Lezay Marnesia was a captain of the French Guard of Louis XVI and no doubt through Joel Barlow became interested in the Scioto Land

[*sic*] and other interested parties the foundation and the means of carrying out a great plan of emigration. When I received the letter in which I owe them the confidence of consulting their project with me, it was more than one year that their fortunes occupied me. I had foreseen all the disasters which they have experienced and, consequent to it, I had proposed as soon as my business affairs permitted it to make a voyage to Sioto with the intention of persuading them to conduct a colony to the Spanish bank of the Misisipi. I had even communicated my ideas on this matter to the Commandant of Santa Genoveva, having also shown Don Zenon Trudeau the letter written me by the Company, so that he might instruct Your Lordship and inspire you with confidence regarding what I have the honor to inform you.

In virtue of the above succinct declaration I am persuaded that Your Lordship will deem it easy for a considerable number of Frenchmen who cannot endure the change which the revolution has introduced, to come from Europe to the Misuri and the Misisipi Rivers; and a multitude of other men, of various classes and conditions from whom the same revolution has cut off the means of subsistence. Although this emigration be great, in no way will it occasion expense to the Spanish government, because its leaders, the moving force and support of it, as they will be men possessed of fortunes of greater or less consequence, will transport and maintain at their own expense those of the lower class who bind themselves to follow their fortunes,

speculation. He was a man of high rank and of great social influence. It seems he belonged to a company of twenty-four Frenchmen formed to exploit this Scioto land — a special organization quite distinct from the Scioto company, each member agreeing to purchase a 1,000 acres and to provide for four laborers and transport them from Havre to America. The Marquis Marnesia came with the first French emigrants who landed at Alexandria, Virginia. Here it seems some doubts as to the title to the land of the Scioto company was first suggested, as well as the danger from Indian attacks of the new proposed settlement. It was also discovered that Virginia was more favorably situated for a colony. The Marquis Lezay Marnesia and Count de Barthe then went to New York to interview Col. Duer, the chief promoter of the enterprise. He in some way must have satisfied them, for the emigrants started west, and several hundred reached the present site of Gallipolis in October, 1790, and a few days afterwards the Marquis and de Barthe arrived at Marietta, with another party, and were quartered at Fort Harmar. It was Count de Barthe who proposed the establishment of Gallipolis at the mouth of the Scioto. The survey of the lands, which had not even been made, was now actively begun, but shortly afterward the Indians of the Northwest defeated Gen. Harmar and this stopped for a time all surveys and effective work. Marnesia and De Barthe then went to New York again to consult with Col. Duer. Finally the surveys were made and work begun by these deluded adventurers, which was to end so disastrously for them. In a small pamphlet entitled *Nouveau Prospectus de la compagnie du Scioto*, dated October 13, 1790, several extracts of a letter of Marnesia are published.

under conditions advantageous to both parties. Of these conditions one of the chief ones will be the assurance to each person, after a certain fixed period of service, of a portion of land. Therefore, it will be advisable that said various portions of land be conceded in the beginning to the leaders in proportion to the number of people that they bring, but only on condition of deposit, so that after the colonists have completed the period of their pledge, the proprietorship of such lands be transferred to them gratuitously.

For the execution of this project, will Your Lordship examine what now occurs to me to advise you. If Your Lordship considers it advisable, I will go down to Nueva Orleans, in order to go thence to Philadelfia where, after conferring with the French promoters whom I meet, I shall take passage for France. In that kingdom, I shall confer with all those who show an intention of joining us. Thence I shall go to Savoy, to the Swiss Cantons, Germany, Flanders, Holland and, finally, to all the countries where Frenchmen are found assembled, capable, by their condition, fortune, standing, and influence, of contributing to the attainment of our undertaking. Besides the letters of recommendation which our friends in Philadelfia will give me, I am certain I shall find in France all the support that I shall find necessary for approaching the persons of greatest influence. I cannot now explain any more clearly, through my fear lest I accidently compromise several persons whom I cherish greatly and respect not less; but in due time I shall give Your Lordship sufficient proofs of the motives why I count on their aid.

For the expenses of these voyages, which will last about eighteen months from the day of my departure from Nueva Orleans, I ask four thousand pesos fuertes, payable in the following form: six hundred before my embarkation in Luisiana; one thousand four

In this letter he says that the position of the land is very rare if not unique; that he is in the midst of newness and vastness and associated in an extremely rash enterprise; that the lands that have been sold them are uery fertile and good for grain and tobacco, although he does not think that indigo will succeed. Then he writes in glowing terms that far from finding the enterprise, what many say it is, that in fact the Scioto company has deceived them in not telling them more of the wonders of the new region. This letter which was a private communication he, however, allowed to be used in any way deemed fit. Also in another letter addressed to Mons. Grea, at Lons-le-Saunier he praises the company, so too in a letter addressed to Mons. Beyerley, formerly counsellor in parliament from Nantes. From all this I would infer, that this Marquis was in the employ of the Scioto company and that probably he and other members of the company of twenty-four did not pay anything for their land. We now understand this method of promoting land schemes better than the Frenchmen who were deluded in 1790.

hundred on my arrival in France; if, at the end of six months, I cannot show the ambassador or other agent of the Spanish Court, who may be in Paris then, the well-founded hope of carrying out my commission, nothing more shall be paid me, but, if on the contrary, I should establish to the satisfaction of the ambassador the probability of attaining the end, the balance of two thousand pesos shall be given me in two payments, of six months apiece. At the conclusion of the eighteen months, if the matter has gone according to our desires, and it appears advisable that I remain a longer time in Europe, the government shall give me as a recompense what seems to be demanded by the services which I shall have rendered and those which I shall hope to render with my later operations, taking into consideration the propriety which I must keep up among the class of individuals with whom I shall have established my negotiations. As soon as my commission is considered concluded I leave entirely, Sir Governor, to the well-known generosity of the Spanish government, the permanent reward to which it judges me worthy according to its value. I cannot say now that all those who were employed in its service remain in a state of content. I will bind myself to return to America with the first colony of emigrants to accompany them to the place where they must settle in order to aid them with my counsel and experience and to have sent from Bella Ribera everything necessary until the colonists are in a condition to live without foreign aid.

But quite with the idea that Your Lordship may be entirely convinced of the certainty of my belief that I shall obtain wholly what I have proposed, and with that of giving the value to my services (despicable conduct of which I would be ashamed), I judge it right to show Your Lordship that this undertaking will cost me great sacrifices, because my retirement from the United States will occasion me the irrevocable loss of property of more than ten thousand pesos in value. However, I do not ask that this resignation of my personal interests be a cause of thanks to me; nor less do I pretend that I be recompensed for them. The only thing to which I shall consider I have a right, will be to hope that I shall be recompensed in proportion to my future services. Nothing is owed me nor do I ask anything for the losses to which I voluntarily submit. I have promised myself without doubt an indemnification, but it is not in money advantages that I have formed my speculations. On one side the situation of an immense number of unfortunate people has presented itself to my imagination, whom the present circumstances have reduced to misery in my former country; on the other hand, I have reflected on the immense advantages that could result to Luisiana if it acquired so considerable a number of industrious men and the good fortune that these men would have in finding an asylum. Both objects have taken so lively possession of my powers that the idea of contributing to its attainment appears to me a sufficient compensation for the property whose possession I renounce. Personal interest is, without doubt, the principal lever of man's operations, but it does not work in the same manner with all men.

In some, it is usually the ambition for gold. Surely, no one looks with greater indifference than I on the blessings of fortune. The ambition for posts guides others, or the desire of becoming famous. Upon this point I form no pretense, nor less do I consider myself adorned with the virtues that exact praise. Lastly, in the least number, is the necessity of occupying one's self in matters whose end results to the benefit of the public utility, and in which an active soul can manifest its inclination. Nature destined me for the last place, but a combination of circumstances opposed itself very particularly to nature's designs. I love men, Sir Governor, and I profit eagerly by all which appears to me capable of contributing to their happiness. Your Lordship may see, therefore, what has made me conceive the project of transporting to Luisiana a great population; of converting into fertile fields its arid deserts; and of introducing and causing to flourish, with the lapse of time, arts and manufactures; and, proceeding from this desire, the indifference with which I view the abandonment of my property in spite of it being the fruit of many years of toilsome industry.

I have believed that the purity of my principles and motives demanded explanation beforehand so that Your Lordship may not imagine that I am working in order to drag the Spanish Government into an enterprise from which I promised myself the greatest personal advantages for that is very well known. The small sum which I have asked is a proof of my disinterestedness, for it is clear that I can scarcely pay my expenses with it, and that in case of being obliged to return without having done anything, the loss that my absence shall have occasioned me will not be compensated.

Although my zeal for the public welfare leads me to sacrifice all my small fortune, nevertheless, I should desire to save something from the shipwreck, and it seems to me that what I am going to ask in order to obtain it, will not violate the administrative rules in force in the government under Your Lordship's charge.

I have sold some land in exchange for tobacco, which I should like to take with me if I go to Europe. From the instant that Your Lordship shall have approved the voyage which I have proposed, I ought to be held as a Spanish subject, and I will be one in reality. In consequence of that I hope that my tobacco may enter and leave Nueva Orleans without payment of the duties which that product pays when a foreigner brings it in. Further, I believe that, by this request, I do not commit the imprudence of soliciting a personal favor. If it is a right which the government concedes to every man who puts itself under his protection, Your Lordship shall have the goodness to notify me thereof, so that, in consequence thereof, I may decide to take it down with me, or if I cannot do that, to dispose of it in some other manner before my departure.

It would cause me great grief if the preceding project should make me lose sight of my intentions to establish a flour mill of fair quality. The impulse is given. The adhesion of Your Lordship to my plans has electrified the people. It is necessary now not to abandon this precious ray of light, and allow the people to fall into lethargy and torpidity. This would infallibly happen if it were allowed to be given up to the direction of some men who know but little in a branch of industry, which demands a knowledge of mechanical ideas. The first observation that I heard made after Don Zenon Trudeau notified them was as follows: "It is truly a good method of encouraging agriculture, but who of us is in condition to erect a mill and other necessary buildings or workrooms; who of us, although he had the means, could do it?" These are, nevertheless, men who have ten times greater opportunities than I, who are detained thus at the very first step by only the shadow of a difficulty. The custom of having seen works of this class in Europe, and especially among the Americans, where they have multiplied infinitely, and are in the greatest state of perfection, has made it less easy to scare me. Therefore, I take it upon myself to make the inhabitants of Ylinois see a mill constructed in the course of the coming year on great principles. A happy chance has just brought a man here who is clever in this branch and of whom I have assured myself. The matter of the capital required and which I lack, has obliged me to take a partner who will arrive at this place next spring.

Consequently, although my departure be effected, the energy with which this enterprise is to be pushed will not be diminished.

The situation in which the French emigrants in Sioto are living, the impatience with which they desire to leave and the word which I have given them to go to meet them before winter, demand that my departure hence be effected about the tenth of November at the latest.

If Your Lordship deems that my project merits any attention, I owe it to your favor to communicate to me your thought thereon before that date, for on that depends my resolution in regard to the path which I ought to take to go to Philadelfia. I do not believe that it will be a matter of indifference to the Spanish Court to see two hundred or perhaps three hundred thousand Frenchmen (this is the number announced to me) fix their residence among the Americans or come to be its vassals in a colony which it is of so great interest to it to protect. I know well, Sir Governor, that a project of this nature is one of those to which Your Lordship, perhaps, will be unable to lend yourself without previous consultation of and receipt of the approval of its Court, but I must observe to Your Lordship that if this effort is necessary, it will not fail to be at the same time a misfortune, because the Frenchmen who are already in America and their friends in Europe desire impatiently to decide upon and adopt a fixed plan. If time is given to them to acquire property in the territory of the United States, they will be lost with out remedy, and this loss can never be made up. The most religious secrecy ought to be the foundation of this enterprise until the moment of its execution.

I have the honor to be, with respect, Sir, your most humble and obedient servant. B. TARDIVEAU.

McGill

MANUEL PEREZ

LXVI

THE SERVICES OF PEREZ

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Audiencia de Santo Domingo, Luisiana and Florida — Duplicates of Governors and Intendants, 1793 — Estante 86; Cajón 6; Legajo 26.

The Captain-General of Luisiana sends the petition made to the King by Captain Don Manuel Perez, asking retirement, with the rank and pay of Lieutenant-Colonel.

Letter from Las Casas:]

Your Excellency:

Don Manuel Perez, Captain of the Infantry Regiment of Luisiana petitions the King in the enclosed petition to retire him with the rank and pay of Lietuenant-Colonel.

The report made by the Baron de Carondelet, as Sub-Inspector, I find in accord with and conformable to it throughout. I believe that Your Excellency can give credence to it, so that His Majesty may deign to resolve what he considers most advisable.

May God preserve Your Excellency many years. Havana, May 4, 1793. Your Excellency.

Luis de las Casas (rubric).

Addressed: "His Excellency, Conde del Campo de Alange."

Endorsed: "The Captain-General of Luisiana sends the petition made to the King by Captain Don Manuel Perez, asking for retirement with the rank and pay of Lieutenant-Colonel."

Perez's petition:]

Sire:

Don Manuel Perez, Captain of the Infantry Regiment of Luisiana, with the most profound respect, states [the following], at the royal feet of Your Majesty. He has served for the space of thirty-eight years, seven months, and nineteen days in the following manner: As Soldier, Second and First Corporal, four years, ten months, and nine days; as Second Sergeant, two years, seven months, and twenty-six days; as First Sergeant, seven years, eight months, and three days; as Sub-Lieutenant of Grenadiers, three years, eight months, and three days; as Lieutenant of Fusileers, three years, seven months, and six days; as Lieutenant of Grenadiers, two years, nine months, and five days; as Chief Adjutant, two months; and as Captain, thirteen years, two months, and seven days. He took part in the campaigns and actions of war which are mentioned below:

In the campaign of Portugal and garrison in Almeyda.

Twice as escort in the mail boats[1] from the fort of Cartaxena to that of Oran.

Once in His Majesty's boats from Barcelona to Oran; and six years, three months, and four days in garrison in the same.

In the year '63 he accompanied the expedition against this Province, under the orders of His Excellency, Don Alexandro de Orreylli.

In the year '73, he was at the siege and capture of the English forts of the Misisipy River, namely, Fort But[2] of Manchak and Batonrouge.

In the year '80, at the siege and capture of the settlement and fort of Movila. After that at the siege and capture of the fort of Panzacola,[3] during which he commanded the Company of Chasseurs of his own regiment.

He also states to Your Majesty that he has contracted the special merit of commanding the settlements of the western part of Ylinois for the space of five years, with the rank of Lieutenant-Governor and Commandant. In that post, because of the rigorous winters which he endured, commenced the attacks against his health which he suffers at present, as is proven by the subjoined attestation. Finding himself completely incapacitated for being able to continue the royal service, therefore:

He petitions Your Royal Majesty, in consideration of all the above, his greatly advanced age, and his being one of those to form the first batallion of this Province, to please deign to honor him with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and the enjoyment of the monthly pay, to which the said post is entitled; and at the same time to permit him to retire from your royal service with brevet rank at this post, in order that he may, with this pay and rank, support his large family, which consists of his wife and six children. The eldest of the latter is a cadet in this regular regiment. The supplicant hopes to receive this royal grace from the lofty and just consideration of Your Royal Majesty, in which he will receive favor. Nueva Orleans, April 3, 1793. Sire, at Your Majesty's royal feet,

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[1] The term in the original is *Jabeques Correos*. The *Jabeque* is a boat that was much used in the Mediterranean, using both sail and oar.— J. A. R.

[2] See page 3, note 8.

[3] The articles of capitulation between the Spanish and English when Galvez captured that city were signed May 9, 1781.

MANUEL PEREZ (rubric).

Bouligny's Endorsement:]

[*Endorsed* in the margin: "In the note of the services of this officer appear the merits which he has contracted in the service of Your Royal Majesty, the greatest part being in this Regiment under my command. He entered it as Sub-Lieutenant of Grenadiers in November, 1769, at the time of its formation. His conduct has always been very satisfactory, and he has distinguished himself in the intelligence and management of the accounts and papers of the treasury. I know as well the special services which he details in his petition, and the zeal and valor with which he has borne himself on all occasions. Equally well I know the authenticity of the subjoined attestation given by the surgeons of the Regiment, in regard to his broken health, and the attacks which he suffers. In consideration of that, I believe him entitled to the retirement which he asks, and the other favors which Your Majesty's benign royal clemency may consider it fitting to bestow on him, because of his well-known zeal and good, constant, and regular conduct during the thirty-eight years, nine months, and nineteen days which he has served, if it so be the pleasure of Your Royal Majesty.

"Nueva Orleans, April 9, 1793.

FRANCISCO BOULIGNY[4] (rubric).

Carondelet's Endorsement:]

"SIRE:

"Considering the good services of this officer, and his inability to continue in the royal service, I consider him entitled to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, with the pay of retired Captain at this place, since it is known to me that he enjoys a fortune quite sufficient to support himself and his family with decency. But Your Majesty will determine what may be to your greatest pleasure.

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[4] Don Francisco de Bouligny, colonel of the Louisiana Regiment, succeeding Don Pero Piernas, was a resident of New Orleans, and married Maria d'Auberville. In 1785 Miró relieved him of his post at Natchez at his own request, and substituted Felipe Freviño in his stead. Upon the death of Gayoso in 1799, he for a short time was military commandant of Louisiana. He also died in 1799, not long after the death of Gayoso. The Bouligny family also distinguished in Louisiana, since the cession. Dominique Bouligny was United States Senator from Louisiana from 1824 to 1829, and died in New Orleans in 1833. His nephew John Edmund Bouligny was a Representative in Congress from Louisiana in 1861 and the only member from the seceding states that did not withdraw from it. He died in 1864 in Washington.

"Nueva Orleans, April 10, 1793.

BARON DE CARONDELET (rubric).

Attestations of Surgeons:]

As Surgeons of the Regular Infantry Regiment of Luisiana, of which Don Francisco Baulignii [*sic*] is Colonel, and by his order:

We attest and swear that we have treated and assisted on various occasions the Captain of the second Company of the first Battalion of this Regiment, Don Manuel Perez, in a hepatic diarrhœa, which we consider today as incurable in its periods and old standing; [we attest and swear] that they are accompanied by loss of sight and hearing. Consequently, we find that he is incapable of being able longer to continue in the royal service.[5] Nueva Orleans, April first, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three.

JOSÉ FERNANDEZ (rubric).
JOSEPH LABIE (rubric).

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[5] But in 1793 and in 1800 Perez served in a civil capacity as one of the ordinary alcaldes of New Orleans.

LXVII

THE ERECTION OF FLOUR-MILLS AT NEW MADRID AND STE. GENEVIEVE PROMOTED — CONTRACT IN REGARD TO SAME, ETC. — 1793-1797

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Audiencia of Santo Domingo, Luisiana, and Florida. Letters and despatches in the years 1795 to 1797; estante 86, cajon 7, legajo 16.

Letters and despatches from Baron de Carondelet, the Governor of Luisiana, in which he discusses the construction of two mills for making flour, one at Nuevo Madrid, and the other at Santa Genoveva.

In the secret correspondence, April 26, of this year [*sic*] No. 64, your Lordship sends two memoirs which were presented to you by Don Pedro Carlos Lassus, jointly with Don Juan Bautista Tardiveau[1] and Don Pedro Audrain — in virtue of which, and with the purpose of promoting agriculture, settlement, and commerce in the upper establishments upon the two rivers, Misisipi and Misury, you have made a contract on account of the royal treasury, by which it is obliged to take for ten years, at a very cheap price, six thousand barrels of flour, and the necessary amount of biscuit of a quality superior to that which has been known [of the supplies] from the Spanish establishments of Ilinoa, for the royal storehouses of your city and the ports of the province; [this is to be obtained] by means of two mills which are to be constructed. For this undertaking, and for that of the important emigration which they oblige themselves to bring about, of the hundred French families at Gallipolis, Your Lordship has advanced eleven thousand five hundred pesos, under guarantees, permitting this sum to be shipped free of dues. His Majesty, to whom you have given account of this, does not consent to approve the exemption and freedom from dues with which Your Lordship permitted the shipment of the money that you had advanced — which you gave without orders, and for which Your Lordship must be responsible if the money is not restored to the royal treasury. Your Lordship will bear this in mind for your information and the fulfilment [of your responsibilities]. May God keep Your Lordship for many years. At San Ildefonso, September 21, 1793.

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[1] Some confusion exists as to the Christian name of "Tardiveau." Sometimes the name is given as "Jean Baptiste," or "Juan Bautista," but generally as "Barthelemé" or "Bartolomé."

I the King.

Addressed: "To the lord governor of Luisiana."
[Marginal note: "No. 6*A*, Secret."]

Synopsis:]

The governor-intendant of the provinces of Luisiana and western Florida sends two memorials which have been presented by Don Pedro Carlos Lassus, knight, [wearing the] grand cross of the order of St. Michael in Francia, jointly with Don Juan Bautista Tardiveau and Don Pedro Audrain — in virtue of which, and with the purpose of promoting the agriculture, settlement, and commerce of the important upper establishments upon the rivers Misisipi and Misury, he has made a contract on account of the royal treasury, by which the treasury is obliged to take for ten years, at a very cheap price, six thousands barrels of flour, and the necessary biscuit, and of a quality superior to that which has been seen up to the present time from the Spanish establishments of Ilinoa, for the royal storehouses of that capital [*i. e.*, New Orleans] and the ports of the province, by means of two mills which are to be constructed. In order to carry out this enterprise, and that of the large emigration which those parties oblige themselves immediately to effect, of the hundred French families at Gallipolis, he has advanced 9,000 pesos for two years, under corresponding guarantees — which sum, with that of 2,500 pesos more for the emigration [expenses] of the said families, he has allowed to be shipped free of dues; and he entreats that His Majesty will deign to approve so advantageous a transaction.

Letter:]

YOUR EXCELLENCY:

I have the satisfaction of informing Your Excellency that I have just concluded a transaction the consequences of which will form an epoch in the annals of this province and of North America; the basis for a new condition of affairs has been established in this region of the province, on which España can build a state capable of opposing and checking the rapid increase of the establishments of the United States to the west; of restraining the English of Canada, who are getting possession of all the trade and the rich peltries of the Misuri; and finally, of supplying Lower Luisiana, this capital, Havana, and the islands of the Gulf [of Mexico] with the flour and biscuit that they need, of superior quality and at a very low price.

This statement, which at first sight will perhaps seem to be a mere exaggeration, will be changed into irrefutable proof if attention be paid to the reasons brought out in [documents] 1 and 2, which accompany this, and to the following.

The establishment at Gallipolis, composed of French royalists who have emigrated from their own country with the object of seeking a shelter from the persecution of the democrats, would be very flourishing at the present time if the United States had given it all the protection which those colonies had a right to expect from the dazzling offers with which they were deluded; but as what actually occurred was directly contrary to these prospects, the poorset of them have abandoned the establishment and only those remain who, having invested considerable amounts of money and the larger part of their furtunes, have not been able to make up their minds thus far to abandon those possessions. Nevertheless, wearied at the arbitrary acts, deceits, and selfish conduct of their neighbors, the Americans, and at the same time disgusted at the differences of languages, religious belief, and customs [from their own], when they learned that the government of Luisiana was in the hands of a Fleming, with whose family some of them were acquainted, availing themselves of this opportunity, they determined to send one of their number, named Lassus, a knight of the grand cross of St. Michael — a Fleming, and one who had known me in Flanders, and whose son is serving as sub-lieutenant in the royal Walloon guards — to examine the lands in the Spanish part of Ilinoa as far as Nuevo Madrid, and from there to Nueva Orleans, and to negotiate with me for their tansfer to this province in case those lands should prove suitable, and the information that they had of the mildness, freedom, and special protection of this province be correct.

The Chevalier de Lassus conferred with Messrs. Tardiveau and Audrain, who had been commissioned by the Marquis de Marnesia and other prominent men who had emigrated from France to negotiate with the United States for the purchase of three millions of acres [of land] in the American part of Ilinoa — for which six millions of silver *reales fuertes*[2] were demanded from them — and the two last named agreed to unite their efforts with those of the Chevalier de Lassus, with the same object, that of examining the Spanish territory and rendering to those who had authorized them to act an account of what they should accomplish.

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[2] The *real fuerte* was a Spanish coin worth twelve and one half cents.

M. Tardiveau is a highly educated man, and the same person regarding whom I sent to the Conde de Aranda (in private correspondence, No. 15) a communication with his propositions referring to this very project of drawing to this part of the dominions of the king the emigration which is going on from Europe to North America, ever since the independence of the United States. [He was] forced by the new Revolution, which France experienced at the end of the past year, to change his plans, and made the agreement with Chevalier de Lassus and M. Audrain — whose power of attorney from the Marquis de Marnesia and other influential personages I have seen — to present to me the propositions contained in the documents which go with this, Nos. 1 and 2.

The importance of the matter, the necessity for speedy decision, the numberless advantages which it presents, the well-known character of the commissioners, their ability and fortunes, the impossibility of consulting the captain-general about it, and the absence of any risk resulting to the royal treasury — these seemed to me sufficient reasons for concluding the transaction, in the manner which is made clear by the contract (No. 3). M. Audrain having set out on the 22nd for Philadelphia, from which city he will go to collect the families from Gallipolis and bring them down by way of the Ohio to Nueva Madrid, Messrs. Lassus and Tardiveau returned up the Misisipi in order to wait for those people and conduct them to the new settlement, which will be founded at a little distance from that of Santa Genoveva, at 37° of North latitude.

I have decided that it be called Nueva Borbon, not only in order to place the new settlement under the especial protection of the august sovereigns who govern España, but also that the descendants of the new colonists may imitate the loyalty and constancy of their fathers for their kings; and that, on the other hand, all those who have followed the opposite faction may shun a land which has been made the asylum of good and loyal vassals.

It is evident that this scattered seed will produce a hundredfold for the State. From the brief relation which accompanies this (No. 4), in behalf of the inhabitants of Gallipolis, it is evident that they are persons of education and good standing, and desirable [as colonists]. The poor who remain among them will follow the leading families, who will advance them the necessary funds for their first settlement. The prosperity and tranquillity which they all will enjoy under the mild government of España; their relations with all the principal emigrants from France; the publicity which the removal of all those people from Gallipolis to Spanish territory cannot fail to occasion; the certainty that they will find an immediate market for their wheat, by means of the contract which has been made with Messrs. Lassus, Audrain, and Tardiveau; the interest which these gentlemen (who now are in possession of a considerable fortune) have in increasing the cultivation and settlement of the lands upon the Misury and the Misisipi; the similarity of religion, language, and customs between the old colonists and the new; the resentment of the latter against the Americans, who have not fulfilled any of the promises that they made to them; all these things promise us that the enormous immigration which thus far has flowed to the American territory of the North will be directed to the Spanish territory. And the latter will have this additional advantage, that those vast regions of Ilinoa, hitherto undefended and almost abandoned, on account of their distance at five hundred leaguas from the capital, will be peopled with French royalists, who will maintain resentment against the Americans for their unfair proceedings, and will continue against the English of Canada that opposition and rivalry which is innate in the French nation — forming a considerable barrier against both nations, on the Misury as well as on the Misisipi.

Lower Luisiana and its capital, hitherto exposed to the uncertainty attending the storage and the sales of flour, which have made the price rise, in time of war, from twenty to twenty-five pesos a barrel; and the commerce in that commodity in times of peace has always caused a considerable outflow of money into foreign countries — will thus be abundantly supplied, and at a very low price, with this most necessary product, and will be able to export its surplus to Havana and other American possessions of España. Its biscuit will be superior to any that we have ever seen, since the manufacturers will be responsible for its keeping good for five years, without our experiencing any loss, and it will supply the naval squadrons and the navy at Havana. Finally, the King will have in these remote lands an active force which can restrain the English of Canada, and the ambitious and extensive projects of the United States while the increase in their products will augment the royal revenues by all that is produced by the export duties.

All these advantages will cost almost nothing to the royal exchequer, since the loan of nine thousand pesos which I have made to the parties concerned for the transportation and erection of their mills (loaned for two years) is secured by the guarantee of Don Juan Bautista Sarpy, a wealthy merchant of this capital; and for the two thousand five hundred pesos which I have allowed them for the expenses of removing the people from the settlement at Gallipolis (according to document No. 2), the sureties are the Messrs. Lassus and Tardiveau themselves, whose property (the amount of which is known to me) will be removed to Spanish territory by M. Audrain, they themselves remaining meanwhile in this province.

Since Your Majesty has already deigned to advance even larger sums to the inhabitants of these provinces, for six years, solely for the purpose of enabling them to raise embankments that are able to keep back the waters of the Misisipi River, which in freshets submerge their lands, I have believed that you would not disapprove a loan of less amount, and for so short a time, the advantages of which are so far superior to those from the other loans.

As for the shipment of the silver above mentioned to Philadelphia which I allowed, I will inform you that not only the success and the despatch of that undertaking indispensably required it — since all the purchases of articles necessary for the construction of the mills, the flat-boats, berchas,[1] and other things which are contained in the relations (Nos. 1 and 2), must be made with ready money — but also that the value of the property which Messrs. Lassus and Tardiveau will bring into the province will alone be an amount of wealth infinitely greater than that small sum [of the loan]; and consequently, what the other immigrants are bringing will, as nearly as can be learned, enormously exceed the quantity of cash now in the province.

Finally, as His Majesty permits the shipment of money for the purchase of negroes, for only the object of promoting the agriculture of this province, the contract which accompanies this has seemed to me to be far more advantageous for that very object; and that it gives more assurance than the former measure for the abundant supply of food, which necessarily is provided for the whole province, and will prevent the frequent exportation of money which is made in the purchase, at second hand, of flour from the United States in the French Islands. That outflow of money, on account of the situation of the country, and because of the passive commerce which this colony carries on, it will never be possible to diminish, no matter how much vigilance may be exercised — as I have set forth, as did my predecessor, Don Estevan Miró, and the previous intendant, Don Martin Navarro. It has therefore seemed to me expedient for the welfare of the State to permit the shipment of that small quantity of money.

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[1] *Bercha* may be a mistranscription for *burcho*, or a corruption of that word which signifies "a large sloop or large."— *Translator.*

The price of eight pesos a barrel, which the royal treasury will pay during ten years for six thousand barrels — which quantity is needed for the consumption of the troops that garrison the forts and posts of this province — is the lowest that it has known up to this time; that is, for flour of the quality which the contractors bind themselves to furnish; for that from Kentucky and other American settlements, which comes down by way of the Ohio, is usually sold at six and seven pesos a barrel, on account of its wretched quality. But the bakers of this capital will not make use of it at all, for white bread; and from its purchase there result likewise the inconveniences on which I touched in speaking of the purchases of flour that are made in the French Islands, especially that of encouraging in this manner those [American] settlements, the increase of which it is, on the contrary, expedient to hinder, in every possible way.

I hope that Your Excellency, having before you the explanations made in this communication, and in the documents annexed to it. will deign to make the entire matter plain to the royal understanding, and to obtain for it the approbation of His Majesty, the greatest of the rewards to which I aspire. May God, my Lord, preserve Your Excellency for many years. Nueva Orleans, April 26, 1793. [I remain] Your Excellency,

BARON DE CARONDELET.

Addressed: "To His Excellency Señor Don Diego de Gardoqui."

No. 1.

The desire of contributing to the promotion of agriculture and industry in this province has induced us to form the project of founding at Nuevo Madrid and Santa Genoveva in Ilinoa the useful establishments which we are about to mention. The plan is, to erect in Nuevo Madrid a water mill, in which we shall employ all our solicitude and the resources of the [miller's] art to make flour as good as that which is imported from foreign ports. Many reasons have decided us to make choice of this place in preference to any other. The land is especially suitable and adapted for the cultivation of wheat, and only needs good farmers; and the French colony of Gallipolis on the Ohio, influenced by various reasons of convenience, are eagerly desirous of settling there. In order to prevent this new colony from being dispersed by a general discouragement it is then necessary to set before them the hope that their own industry will produce profitable results for them, by means of a mill which insures to them the consumption of the grain which they cultivate.

Another mill of the same kind at Santa Genoveva, constructed on the same principles, will furnish to the agriculture of this useful part of the province all the encouragement and activity which it needs. The advantages which will result from both establishments to the province, and especially to the capital, are very evident. The garrisons of the various posts on the Misisipi, and the citizens of the capital, will have a continual and abundant supply, at a uniform and moderate price, of a food which is of prime necessity; and they will not be exposed to the periodical times of scarcity which a thousand circumstances occasion. The flour being made in accordance with and in proportion to its consumption, will always be fresh, wholesome, and palatable. The certainty of being able to sell their wheat will, from the start, engage the inhabitants of Ilinoa and of other regions on the Misisipi that are suitable for producing this grain to devote themselves with zeal to its cultivation — which has hitherto been much neglected for lack of mills suitable for making flour that could compete with that which is brought in from abroad. By these establishments will be secured a most important object, which is to render the colony, and especially its capital, independent as regards its food of a nation with which it may sooner or later find itself at variance.

The strong impulse given to agriculture in the western part of Ilinoa by the existence of a good mill, together with the certainty of finding a sure and profitable market for the surplus of the product above their own consumption, will be stronger than any other motive in forming the decisions of all the Frenchmen whom the unfortunate circumstances of the times have forced, and will yet compel, to withdraw from their native land, the vitals of which are rent by the present disturbances. We point out this object especially, on account of our being in correspondence with a great number of Frenchmen who are planning to prepare for themselves an asylum against the overthrow of public order and the fortunes of individuals, in the above-mentioned establishments. We would desire to add a factory for biscuit, the superior quality of which to all those hitherto known has been recognized in different departments of the royal navy of France; and Your Lordship could have convinced yourself of this by [seeing] the biscuit itself, if it had not been for an accident which happened to a portion of biscuit which we were keeping with the intention of presenting it to Your Lordship, which had been made at Brest in the year 1785, and afterward had made the voyage to the East Indies. By this manufacture, which will be carried to the highest possible degree of perfection, we flatter ourselves that we shall be exceedingly useful, not only to the royal navy, but to the merchant vessels, both of Nueva Orleans and of Havana, and those of other ports in the dominions of his Catholic Majesty.

If the public advantages which result from these united activities are made as evident to Your Lordship as they seem clear to us, we entreat you to grant us permission to construct the mills that we have planned, and to establish our factory for biscuit, under the following conditions:

1st. In view of the fact that the present crop of wheat in the Spanish part of Ilinoa is not sufficient for the mills which we are purposing to construct at Santa Genoveva and Nuevo Madrid, permission shall be granted to us by the government to bring in such quantity as is necessary from the American settlements situated on the Ohio, and from the eastern part of Ilinoa, free from all import duties, until this branch of industry has attained sufficient growth in the Spanish territory to enable it to supply the needs of the province and what is necessary for our mills.

[Marginal note: "Granted, but with the understanding that the importation of American wheat shall not be permitted by the commandants of Ilinoa and Nueva Madrid until they are certain that all the wheat that is in their districts of good quality and in good condition has been sold, and that only such quantity remains as is necessary for the consumption of its inhabitants. In case of any dispute over the quality of the wheat between the contractors and the habitants, each of the interested parties shall name an arbitrator of their own choice; and if these two cannot agree in their decision the commandant shall name a third person in the controversy, so that the question may be decided immediately and without expenses."]

2nd. As the establishment of these different and most important manufactures necessarily exposes us to inevitable ruin if the sale of our flour and biscuit be not assured at a permanent price, the government shall bind itself to accept from us all the flour that is good and suitable for use which we shall manufacture in Nuevo Madrid and Santa Genoveva, at the invariable and uniform price of four and one half *pesos fuertes*[4] per hundred pounds (French weight), at any post on the Misisipi at which it may be delivered, from San Luis in Ilinoa to Nueva Orleans inclusive.

[Marginal note: "The government pledges itself to take the amount of flour that it may find necessary, during a period of ten years, paying at the rate of eight pesos a barrel of one hundred and ninety-three pounds net (Spanish weight), which makes one hundred and eighty pounds French weight — which is the average price that is current in this capital; it will be accepted at any post on the Misisipi where they may deliver it, from San Luis in Ilinoa to Nueva Orleans inclusive — under the rigorous condition that the flour shall be fit for use, that is, fresh, white, palatable, and superior in quality to that of Vera Cruz. The government shall notify the contractors every year of the quantity of flour that they must deliver at each post on the Misisipi, and at the capital, until this shall reach the amount of six thousand barrels. All controversies regarding the acceptance of the goods shall be decided without costs, by two arbitrators appointed by the two parties, the contractors and the keeper of the storehouse respectively; and, in case of disagreement, a third person, chosen by the intendant or the post commander."]

3rd. That we be authorized to sell freely, at our pleasure, to the habitants of the province the flour that may be rejected by the inspection that the government orders to be made — under the condition, however, that such flour be ascertained to be good and wholesome.

[Marginal note: "If a total failure of the crop of wheat shall occur in Ilinoa, Nuevo Madrid, and the American settlements — which the contractors shall prove to the government — an increase in the price, in proportion to the value of wheat, shall be allowed to them for that year, or the contract shall be suspended during that year — the choice being left to the government."]

4th. If the consumption by the government and the habitants shall not be sufficient for the output of flour and biscuit that we shall be able to produce, we shall be granted free shipment of the surplus to the other Spanish ports of America, with the same exemption from export and import duties; or, as here, the government shall have the preference for supplying itself with what it needs, at the current trade prices.

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[4] The *peso fuerte* is a dollar, a silver coin weighing one ounce.

5th. The biscuit, the quality of which must be previously ascertained, and for which the contractor shall be responsible, shall be paid for at the rate of eight pesos fuertes a quintal at Nueva Orleans, and nine at Havana, if we have to transport it at our own account and risk.

By encouraging these various establishments which our zeal for the public welfare suggests to us, the government will have the satisfaction of having created, in less than three years, in the Spanish part of Ilinoa an agricultural industry sufficient to place the colony in the situation of retaining within itself the considerable sums which it annually pays out for the flour brought in by the foreigners; and from henceforth the nation will be benefited, beyond the [amount of] wheat which is imported from the Americans, by all the profit which may result from this manufacturing and the incoming of traders, which the vassals of His Majesty will appropriate to themselves.

[Marginal note: "The biscuit which shall be needed in the king's storehouses will be taken from the contractors during the same term of ten years, at eight pesos fuertes a quintal net, delivered at the capital — always [provided] that it be found superior in taste, durability, and whiteness to all that is made in Nueva Orleans and Havana; if it is not of such quality, the contractors shall be allowed only six pesos and one half a quintal, which is the price that the royal treasury regularly pays in Nueva Orleans."]

However great may be the desires of the petitioners in favor of a national advantage of so great importance, their means are unequal to their zeal; and it will be exceedingly difficult for them to carry out their enterprises with all the energy that they desire to employ, to the end of communicating a great movement and impulse to the industry of the farmers, unless the government deign to second their care and attention with assistance proportioned to the great advances which they will find themselves compelled to make. For this reason they are explaining to Your Lordship the importance of the funds which their enterprise demands, an outline of their means and resources, the extent of their sacrifices, and the relative amount of assistance which they venture to solicit from the government for which they are ready to sacrifice their own existence — an aid for which they hope from the zeal of Your Lordship, so generally recognized, for the general welfare of this province.

The itemized statement of all the advances and expenses which will be required by the construction of our mills, the manufacture of biscuit, the purchase of grain, etcetera, amounts to a capital of more than fifty thousand pesos. Although we find ourselves sufficiently rich in the esteem of our fellow-citizens and the confidence of the public, we are not rich enough in ready money to carry out a plan so enormous; nevertheless, with some aid from the government our credit and our poor abilities will easily be equal to the demands of our enterprise. It would give us great pleasure to contribute to the public good without asking anything from the State; but there are limits within which even the most disinterested zeal remains circumscribed. Obliged to subject ourselves to this necessity, we entreat that nine thousand pesos be advanced to us from the royal treasury, which will be returned through the deliveries of flour and biscuit which we shall have to make in the two years following our establishment — that is to say, four thousand five hundred pesos a year. With the support of this assistance, we believe that we can pledge ourselves, and be in suitable condition, to deliver annually, at the order of the government, eight to ten thousand barrels of flour or biscuit; and that before three years pass these articles can be produced entirely in the colony.

[Marginal note: "Granted, for nine thousand [pesos], under the accepted guarantee of M. Sarpy, under the conditions proposed; to which for greater precision it shall be added, that the first mill shall be constructed and in condition to grind, one year after the signing of this contract, so that the contractors shall be under obligation to furnish to the King's storehouses, during the entire year of 1794, three thousand barrels of flour; and from the value of this shall be deducted five thousand pesos fuertes on account of the advance made by this royal treasury; and the remaining four thousand shall be reimbursed in the same way, in flour of good quality, through the year 1795 — it being thoroughly understood that the contractors will be also under obligation to complete the second mill by the end of 1794, so that that mill shall commence to grind in the following year, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five."]

It is not only in this aspect that the establishment of which we have the honor to present a scheme to your Lordship should be considered. Its most important and advantageous effect is that of presenting a prospect which may encourage many thousands of Frenchmen whom you desire [as colonists], who find themselves obliged by circumstances to seek out a new fatherland for themselves, and whose choice nothing could more victoriously decide than the certainty of obtaining a good location, which is familiar to them. The agents of this project have not the presumption to think that they can personally obtain from Your Lordship the confidence which the advance that they venture to solicit requires — a request to which they find themselves impelled only under shelter of the respectable name upon which they depend in this state of affairs, that of one who makes himself responsible for the obligations which they contract with the government, and for the execution of their plan.

We see with pain that the idea of attracting to the upper part of Luisiana the greater number of the Frenchmen who may emigrate does not find in Your Lordship all the favor that we had confidently expected. We cannot deny the force of the arguments which Your Lordship brings forward for desiring to surround the capital with a numerous population; but we must at the same time take the liberty of observing to Your Lordship that, knowing the expectations, habits and disposition of our friends from Europe who have confided to us their interests, and in a sense their fate, we do not believe that we can make a better choice for them than that of the lands below Nuevo Madrid. Among those who have abandoned France, the rich as well as the poor prefer, from habit and from taste, the cultivation of grain to that of indigo and tobacco. But the last-named cannot be practiced except by means of the labor of negroes, and our Europeans are not accustomed to the sort of authority which it is necessary to exercise over this unfortunate class of men in order to obtain profit from them; moreover, the employment of labor and means so costly can suit only those emigrants who are in condition to do so on account of their wealth, and the majority of the expatriated Frenchmen will probably be composed of the industrious class, rich only in their physical strength and their habituation to labor. This class have carried on the culture of grain because it does not require great outlays of money; and because, even if great fortunes are not made in it, all can at least obtain for themselves a decent livelihood.

It is also certain that the climate of Lower Luisiana will cause in most of them an invincible repugnance. An evident proof of their aversion is found in the observations which they themselves have made in the matters of detail on which they have constantly demanded explanations. They always stand firmly on the stipulation that we secure a temperature such as the climate of Ilinoa offers. It is quite possible that the government can make for them a better choice than they themselves will make; but in order that men may feel contented with their situation their inclinations should not be opposed. The asylum which one selects for himself, whatever it may be, always pleases him better than that in which one finds himself placed by the will of another. Besides the cultivation of grain of all kinds, that of flax and hemp, and the herding of cattle — all of these industries which are familiar to Europeans — the country of Ilinoa offers still another kind of industry, to which they are accustomed, and from which they can derive greater profits for themselves and for the public, but which the present habitants do not understand in the least. We wish to speak of the mines of lead, copper, and iron, with which all that country abounds; they have not yet been opened, as the habitants are contented with scratching the earth to three or four feet in depth. These mines, if worked with intelligence, would come to be the source of great prosperity for individuals, and a national aim of the greatest importance. The springs of salt water scattered throughout that rich country furnish also a kind of European industry, and a new attraction for the French emigrants. All these are points in which the country of Ilinoa presents to them a resemblance in climate, soil, productions, mines, and manufactures [to that of France].

Nevertheless, we ought to consider this question still further, in an aspect of the greatest importance, and with reference to the endeavors of Your Lordship in behalf of the protection and security of Spanish territory. In order to settle our ideas upon this point, we must assume the possibility of an occurrence which is not improbable; we mean an invasion of Spanish territory by the Americans. Nevertheless, on account of the great outcry which is being made among them at the present time over an enterprise of this importance, all those who are fairly well informed of their situation, and of the influence which directs the movements of the government in the United States, express the opinion that there is nothing to fear on this side of Luisiana for a long time. At the time when the foreign powers recognized their independence, the Americans, flushed with enthusiasm at the importance which they had just acquired, cast complacent glances over the entire extent of their vast empire, and then the country of the West, free navigation of the Misisipi, and even projects beyond, over all the adjacent countries. They caused in all minds the most lively sensations; it was believed that half of Europe was going to cross to America; and in their complacency they were reigning in anticipation over all the remotest parts of this new sovereignty. Their rapture and enthusism were of short duration. Kentucky, a state already of importance, prepared itself for them, and did not fail to ignore the rest of the states, since its interests had but little connection with those of the great confederation. From that time the Atlantic states began to grow cool over the prosperity of a country which some day could not fail to raise power against power, and to be their rival in its policy. The great migrations toward the West caused a fall in the value of Eastern lands; the fields remained untilled; the demands for lands ceased, and there was no one found who would rent them; and day-laborers became scarce, hand-labor continuing to be paid at high prices. Recognizing all these difficulties, the Americans of the East do not believe that they ought to make sacrifices, or to take upon themselves the burden of a war with any power whatsoever, in order to support the interests of a country the prosperity of which is at least foreign to them, even if it may not some day be prejudicial to their own. This is, in few words, the general tendency of people's minds; and it is encouraged, and receives a new degree of energy, by the private interests of almost all those who possess great influence in America. The proprietors of great domains (although most of them are uncultivated men), whose reputation and rank have most weight in the council of the nation, are very far from regarding with complacency a system which, applying itself to increase the importance of the West, arouses the expectation of selling its lands advantageously. It seems, then, contrary to the nature of things that Congress should take much interest in the pretensions of the state of Kentucky in regard to the free navigation of the Misisipi, and even less that the United States would be ready to support this with men and money in order to obtain it by force of arms. It is no less true that these pretensions will not remain extinguished, and that in the course of time some Americans of the West will endeavor to revive them; but if, as we believe, in this struggle they find themselves left to their own forces, it is easy to see what their schemes will be. They will plan to gain possession of the forts which España has or can have on the river. If they succeed in making themselves masters of Nogales and Natchez, they will carry their audacity so far as to besiege this capital. It is difficult for the imagination to lend itself to the possibility of such an enterprise; but imagine, if you please (for a moment we grant that it be crowned with success), to what all this will conduct them. This town, secluded at the foot of the continent, incapable by its situation of possessing, we will not say a navy, but even one fireship, will remain forever chained on the Misisipi by the smallest vessel concealed in the Valize [*i. e.*, Balize]. It is not, then, to undertakings of this sort that the Americans would devote themselves, if they intend to become entangled with España. But if it is easy to oppose all the enterprises which might take shape on the lower part of the river, and if you have the disposition to believe, as we do that the American does not entertain this senseless project, you will at least understand that he will be able to spread his forces into the western part of Ilinoa, that he will open another channel for the commerce of the Misuri, and that he will strive to open a way through the continent to Nueva Mexico. Nor are these suppositions gratuitous, or made at a venture; we do no more than translate the ideas that are generally diffused, and have set them forth as briefly as has been possible, in order not to weary Your Lordship. In view of this faithful and correct representation, it has seemed to us that the country of Ilinoa was worthy of serious attention on the part of the government; and we are inclined to believe that it would be a great advantage to set up this barrier to shelter from the first hostile invasions, by increasing the population of that country with all the Frenchmen who can be drawn hither from Europe. In a few years, probably, you will have succeeded in making this part of the colony so strong that it will remain entirely protected from any insult; and even if its affairs do not go on so well, it will be a sufficient check on the enemy to retard his progress and give time for preparations to receive him, whether it be at the posts on the river or on the frontiers of Nueva Mexico.

Combining thus political vigilance with care for agriculture, and the interests of the public with the interests, tastes, and habits of individuals, we have endeavored to furnish to your Lordship an account of the reasons which oblige us to locate our countrymen on the upper part of the river in preference to any other part of Luisiana.

We would be unspeakably fortunate if we could inspire Your Lordship with all the interest which we believe the Ilinoa country merits, and cause it to receive such consideration that it can serve, whenever you please, as the granary for this colony and Havana, or with good reason be regarded as a barrier which it is important to raise against the Americans in the West.

Nueva Orleans, April 10, 1793.

De Hault de Lassus.
B. Tardiveau.
P. Audrain.

Addressed: "The Barón de Carondelet."

Estimate of the probable expenses for constructing two mills and a bakery for biscuit, and for the purchase of wheat.

	[Pesos]
Land, mills, ovens, bake-house, storehouses, sheds, and houses valued at	9,000
Furniture flour-bolters, winnowers, forks, sieves, nails, cordage, and utensils for the bakery	800
Purchase of forty thousand minots of wheat	32,000
Barrels	3,000
Forty flat-boats for transportation	4,500
200 engagés [enganchados] and provisions	6,000
Lumber for the ovens, traveling expenses, and maintenance	[1]
Total [1]	57,000

The Baron de Carondelet.

Translation:]

The approval which Your Lordship has had the goodness to bestow upon the project which we are presenting, of establishing flour-mills in this province for the greater encouragement of agriculture, is already an inestimable blessing to the colonists. On this assumption we take the further liberty of presenting a new means for forwarding the public prosperity, believing that we cannot give Your Lordship more irrefutable testimony of our respectful homage than to set forth for your consideration all that, as it seems to us, ought to contribute to the greater service of His Majesty and the welfare of his vassals.

The unfortunate Frenchmen who, having allowed themselves to be allured by fraudulent hopes, had abandoned their native land in order to come to establish themselves on the Scioto, victims of their own credulity, and entangled in the snares that had been stretched for them, have gradually disappeared from American territory, in which they had settled only to consummate their own ruin. There still exist on Scioto more than a hundred families, the feeble and unfortunate remainder of more than eight hundred who brought with them considerable fortunes, the habit of laborious lives, and almost all the arts and trades — at least, the most useful — of Europe; but they are disgusted with their situation, which everything is contributing to make disagreeable. There is nothing which still detains among the Americans this small number of French emigrants, save the lack of means for transporting themselves, their wives, children, and goods to the Misisipi in the lands belonging to the domains of His Catholic Majesty.

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[1] The number as written in the MS. from which the translation is made cannot be accurately determined. It resembles 5,700, but the first figure is not clear. There is further uncertainty in the fact that the sum of the numbers given above is 57,300, without counting this last and uncertain one. These things indicate the probability that the original MS. is very difficult to read, and perhaps illegible in places.—*Translator.*

The acquisition of this colony seems to us sufficiently valuable for the government to deign to cast upon it a favorable glance and to extend to them a protecting arm; for their number will add greatly to the strength of the resistance which the Ilinoa country may find itself compelled to make against the enemies of España; for their industry will double the harvests of that important part of the province, and consequently will have the greatest influence toward quickly freeing Luisiana from its present condition of dependence upon foreigners for its means of subsistence. The admission of these useful foreigners will be one of the most successful means for the activity of our mills, the special good-fortune of which is essentially connected with the general prosperity. But to stop at these relations alone would be to consider this emigration under a very limited aspect; it ought to be considered as the germ of a very large population which it will in a short time attract to those settlements. For some time many Frenchmen worthy of respect for their rank and fortune have anxiously followed from afar the fortunes of this feeble colony; and on its fate will depend their decision [as to the place] in which they desire to settle. Among those who desire to bring colonists to these regions, as soon as it shall be possible to send them reliable information in regard to the natural advantages of the country and the means of assuring to themselves a comfortable living, we may cite the following gentlemen: Comte de Clermont Fonner [*sc.* Tonnerre], Mounier, Comte de Lallytolendad, the bishop of Nancy, De Beyerlé (councilor of the parliament of this city), Depremenil (councilor of the parliament of Paris); the Baron de Barth, grand knight commander [*baylio*] of Hagueau; the Comtesse de Tewé, and the Marquis de Marnesia. The last-named, for himself and for all the distinguished personages whom we have just named to your Lordship, with many others (the list of whom we omit, in order not to weary your Lordship's kindness), has entrusted to M. Audrain, one of our number, all his powers of attorney, for the purpose of obtaining a tract of land on which can be located a great number of habitants. M. Audrain, in sending to the Marquis de Marnesia information of the respective advantages of the two shores of the Misisipi, has individually confined himself to [the effort to] decide him in favor of that shore which is subject to the authority of the king of España, by means of a truthful explanation of all the motives which can assure him of lasting success. M. de Lassus is writing on the same lines to the Prince de Lambese and the duke de Nouy; M. Tardiveau will make similar representations to his respectable friends Comte de Montier (formerly a minister of France) and the Marquise de Brehan. Surely when the emigration of the families on Scioto is regarded as the origin, encouragement, and impulse for the great emigration, it will be evident that it can and ought to merit the attention of the government. Your Lordship must have found the representation that we had the honor of making to you sufficient to convince you that the assistance for which we are asking in order to transport the said families to Ilinoa is very moderate in amount. Those unfortuate people will expect perhaps the greatest part of the beneficent aid which the government will grant to them, besides means of subsistence, until they can harvest a crop; for the rest, there are many even among them who have still resources left; and nearly all of them are not in pressing need, save for the means of subsistence, which their precarious situation has not permitted them to procure for themselves.

This little colony has in its midst a citizen of the highest usefulness, a surgeon named M. Lemoine, in whom all these emigrants have the utmost confidence; and it would be an affliction to them to lose him at the very time when their present situation does not permit them to give him a salary sufficient to establish him among them. Consequently they venture to entreat from the kindness of the government that it will be so good as to join to them this useful member of a recently formed society, by granting to him the appointment of surgeon for the new settlement, with twelve or fifteen pesos a month of salary, in order to furnish to him the means for aiding their sick conveniently, and with less expense to them.

We desire that the principal town of the new colony may be dedicated to the memory of the unfortunate Louis XVI, under the name of Nouvelle Bourbon. We presume that it should be located on the shores near Ste. Geneviève known under the name of La Barrière, or Monte Genereux.

Nouvelle Orleans, April 17, 1793.

De Hault de Lassus.
Jean Baptiste Tardiveau.
Pierre Audrain.

Addressed: "The Barón de Carondelet."

Approximate calculation of the expenses which the French families will incur in going from Gallipolis to Ilinoa.

Twelve flat-boats, at 50 pesos	600
Two berchas (barges?), at 300	600
Forty-two men for conveying the vessels from Fort Pitt to Gallipolis, at 20 pesos	840
Provisions for the poor	460
Total	2,500

The Baron de Carondelet.

Contract:]

We, the undersigned, contract with Señor Don Francisco, Baron de Carondelet, knight of the order of St. John, colonel in the royal troops, and governor and intendant-general of this province — with the knowledge and consent of Señor Don Joseph de Orue, also a knight of the royal and distinguished Spanish order of Carlos III, military accountant-general of the same province — to provide and supply for the space of ten years the flour and biscuit which are needed for the subsistence of the garrisons and the seamen contained in the various posts of this colony, this being understood [as extending] from Nueva Orleans to Ilinoa inclusive; the flour to be, without fail, of the product ground by the two mills which are to be newly built; and similarly, we bind ourselves to build [these mills] in the space of two years, counting from the date of the present obligation, under the following conditions:

1st. Considering the fact that the present crop of wheat in the Spanish part of Ilinoa is not sufficient for the mills that we bind ourselves to build in Santa Genoveva and Nueva Madrid (conformably to the plan which we have laid before the government), the government shall grant us permission to obtain the necessary quantity from the American settlements situated on the Ohio, and from the eastern part of Ilinoa, free from import dues; provided, that the importation of American wheat by the commandants of Ilinoa and Nuevo Madrid shall not be permitted until they make sure that all the wheat that is in their districts, of good quality and in good condition, has been sold, and that only such quantity remains as is necessary for the consumption of the habitants. In case of dissatisfaction between the contractors and the habitants in regard to the amount of wheat, each of the interested parties shall appoint an arbitrator of their own choice; and if these two cannot agree in opinion the commandant shall appoint a third umpire, in order that the question may be decided immediately and without costs.

2nd. We oblige ourselves during ten years to supply, for the account of the royal exchequer, all the flour that may be necessary for the settlements that are embraced in the extent of this province, from Orleans to Ilinoa; and for every barrel of one hundred and ninety-two Spanish pounds (which make one hundred and eighty French pounds) we are to be allowed by the royal treasury eight pesos fuertes — it being an indispensable condition that the flour be fit for use, that is, fresh, white, and palatable, and of quality superior to that of Vera Cruz.

3rd. The government shall notify the contractors every year of the number of barrels of flour which must be delivered at each post on the Misisipi, and at the capital; all controversy regarding its acceptance shall be decided without costs, by two arbitrators appointed by the respective parties (the contractor and the keeper of the storehouse), and a third in case of disagreement, who shall be named by the intendant or the commandant of the post.

4th. In case the wheat crop in Ilinoa, Nuevo Madrid, and the American settlements be short or come to be a total failure, it shall be part of our obligation to make this plain to the government in advance — on the one hand, that it may take such measures as seem best; and on the other, in order that the value of the barrel of flour that is allowed to us may be increased in proportion to the scarcity of wheat; or the contract shall be suspended during that year, which in those circumstances shall be left to the choice of the government and the intendant.

5th. We shall be authorized to sell freely to the habitants of the province, at our pleasure, the flour that may be rejected by the inspection which the government commands to be made — under the condition, however, that such flour be ascertained to be good and wholesome.

6th. If the consumption on the part of the government and the habitants shall not be adequate to the output of flour and biscuit that we shall be able to produce, there shall be granted to us free shipment of the surplus to other ports that are permitted for the commerce of this province, with the same exemptions and privileges that are at present granted to the products of this province.

7th. The biscuit that shall be needed in the king's storehouses during the same term of ten years shall be taken from the contractors, at the rate of eight pesos fuertes a quintal net, delivered at the capital — always [provided] that it shall be superior, [equal] in taste, durability, and whiteness, to all that is made in [Nueva] Orleans and in Havana; if it be not so, only six and one-half pesos a quintal shall be allowed them, which is commonly the current price here.

8th. To secure the fulfilment and execution of the present contract, an advance shall be made to us from this royal treasury of the sum of nine thousand pesos, on reliable security; and this debt shall be extinguished in the following manner: (1) Within the term of one year, reckoned from the date of this contract, the first mill shall be built and in condition to grind, so that we bind ourselves to furnish to the king's storehouses during the entire year of 1794 three thousand barrels of flour; and from the value of this shall be deducted five thousand pesos fuertes, on account of the advance made by this royal treasury; and the remaining four thousand [pesos] shall be reimbursed in the same manner, in flour of good quality, in the year 1795. (2) In like manner, we shall be under obligation to supply the second mill, finished, by the end of 1794, so that it can grind in the year 1795.

Under these guarantees we bind ourselves, pledging our persons and our possessions, whether present or future, for the fulfilment of this contract, for which purpose we submit to the jurisdiction of this intendancy-general; and for the security for the nine thousand pesos stipulated in the preceding article we offer as our surety Don Juan Bautista Sarpi, one of the citizens of this place, a trustworthy person, who will affix his signature with us, for the greater validity of the present contract. Nueva Orleans, April 15, 1793.

BAUTISTA TARDIVEAU.
P. AUDRAIN.
DEHAULT DE LASSUS.
JUAN BAUTISTA SARPY.

With my approval:
JOSEPH DE ORUE.
Nueva Orleans, April 16, 1793.

This contract is approved in all its parts, and the original is placed in the archives of the general military accountancy, in order that the matter may be evident for all time, furnishing to the parties certified copies for their guidance.

THE BARON DE CARONDELET.

This is a copy of the original contract, which lies in the archives of this chief accountancy of the army and royal treasury in my charge; I certify it [to be such], and it is copied in order to send it to the secretary's office of this intendancy-general.

JOSEPH DE ORUE.

Nueva Orleans, April 25, 1793.

List of the principal French emigrants who still reside at Gallipolis, on the shores of the Ohio.

Vandenbenden,[6] formerly contractor for biscuit in the arsenals Brest, Talón [*i. e.*, Toulon], and Rochefort.

De Romine,[7] formerly captain of the royal corps of engineers.

Chevalier de Hebecourt, formerly an officer in the Queen's regiment.

Petit, doctor of medicine.

Le Moine, a surgeon (who understands Latin).

Gervais,[8] an excellent farmer, with a fortune.

Menager, like the preceding.

Le Drot, farmer and grape-grower.

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[6] Probably Joseph Vandenbenden, Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 155.

[7] A family named Romaine lived in St. Louis, during the Spanish dominion, and owned grants on Mill creek. One of its members was named "Christy" (perhaps Christoval), and another John or Jean. This family may be related to the de Romine mentioned in the text.

[8] A François Gervais settled in the New Madrid district, on Red Bank bayou.

Didier,[9] a farmer; brother of the parish priest at Florissant.

Vacz, a Fleming; a watchmaker, and a good workman.

Saugrain,[10] a mineralogist, and a farmer.

Michaur[11] [*sc.* Michaux?], a farmer, with a very large family.

Berthelot, a distiller and cultivator.

It is to be observed that the rest of the habitants are artisans, workmen, or day-laborers, and accustomed to the cultivation of land; almost all have cattle, and the goods most necessary for living.

[Endorsed: "San Ildefonso, Sept. 21, 1793. Number 64; To the governor of Luisiana. [Write] that His Majesty does not approve the freedom and the exemption from duties of 11,500 pesos which he has advanced, and has permitted Don Pedro Carlos Lassus to ship, jointly with two other persons, for the enterprise of [erecting] two mills, and for the emigration of French families from Gallipolis; and other plans which have been proposed for the benefit of the agriculture and commerce of the settlements on the rivers Misisipi and Misury; and he is made responsible for the above amount.

Synopsis:]

Number 95. The governor intendant of Luisiana, in answer to the receipt of the royal order of September 21 in the last year. He entreats to be relieved from the responsibility of repaying the 2,500 pesos that were paid out of the fund allotted to the settlement bureau, for the emigration of the inhabitants of Gallipolis to the Spanish settlements of Ilinoa, with which sum Nueva Borbon was founded for those people. [He asks this] in consideration of the advantages which are resulting to the province, and of the fact that he was governed in this affair by the rules observed by his predecessors.

Letter:]

Most Excellent Sir:

I have accepted with all due submission the order of His Majesty, dated September 21, 1793, which your Excellency communicates to me, informing me that as His Majesty has not consented to approve the exemption and freedom from duties with which I allowed the money advanced to be shipped, which I gave without orders to Don Pedro Carlos Lassus, jointly with Don Juan Bautista Tardiveau and Don Pedro Audrain, under guarantees, I must be responsible if it is not repaid to the royal treasury. But as I am grieved to the heart at having incurred the royal displeasure, when I was flattering myself that the advantages which would result to these provinces, to the royal navy, and to the royal exchequer from those measures would merit the approbation of His Majesty, I trust that your Excellency will deign to exculpate them on account of the zeal and affection for the State which has promoted them.

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[9] Probably Pierre Didier, who received a land grant on Gravois creek from De Lassus.

[10] As to Dr. Saugrain, see Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 28.

[11] This must be Jean Michaux. At any rate Dr. Saugrain married Genevieve Rosalie Michaux at St. Louis, and this family came from near Gallipolis.

I take upon myself, without any hesitation, the responsibility for the repayment of the 9,000 pesos advanced during two years for the construction of the two mills — which will supply with flour the royal storehouses during ten years, at a price so moderate that it is the lowest that has been known in this commodity up to this time; and so advantageously [for the province] that the Western settlements of the United States are doing all that they can to hinder the success of the enterprise. But the remaining 2,500 pesos were not granted under guarantees, or with responsibility for repayment, as appears from my memorial (private correspondence, number 64, dated April 26 of last year); for the responsibility which is constituted therein on the part of Messrs. Lassus and Tardiveau depends solely on their effecting the transportation of the people of Gallipoli to Nueva Borbon — not to mention the fact that, as this sum of 2,500 pesos was taken from the [funds of the] settlement bureau, set aside for expenses of this sort (of which my predecessors and I have been up to this time the dispensers) it was given to them solely to pay the expenses of transportation of those families, with their implements and goods, for a distance of more than two hundred leagues; and the repayment of this cannot be insisted on without failure in the good faith with which the parties concerned have made their contracts and partly fulfilled their obligations; for the settlement of Nueva Borbón is already founded, at a little distance from that of Santa Genoveva in Ilinoa.

It is certain that in the time of my predecessors each one of the Acadian families and those from the islands who were brought to this province on account of the royal treasury cost, after they were established in it, on the average some five hundred pesos; and from this it follows that the acquisition of the population of Gallipoli for 2,500 pesos could not be more advantageous.

Having been authorized by royal order to make a decision in all cases which do not allow time for consulting [my superiors] — doubtless because it was considered that this province is constituted very differently from the rest of those in the Americas — I believed that I possessed sufficient powers to decide upon this expenditure.

Nevertheless, if my means were equal to my desires to serve the State, I would not consider it a sacrifice to pay for an expenditure which, while adding to the domains of the king a population composed of useful and industrious persons, has procured a refuge for men well-born, guiltless, and unfortunate; but, having likewise lost whatever I had, in the revolutions in Flanders (which was involved in those which occurred in France), and perhaps an only son whom I left there six years ago, only a month after his birth, that I might join my regiment, I am not in a condition to support this burden, as I am indebted to the amount of more than five thousand pesos during the four years while I have been occupying the position of governor-intendant, not only in these provinces but in those of San Salvador. Confiding, then, in the goodness of your Excellency, I trust that you will obtain from the royal clemency my release from the repayment of the 2,500 pesos — which are [properly] borne by the settlement fund, according to the rules observed by my predecessors. Most excellent Sir,

The Baron de Carondelet.

Nueva Orleans, January 12, 1794.

Addressed: "To his Excellency Señor Don Diego de Gardoqui."

Letter:]

Your Lordship, replying to the royal order of September 21 in the preceding year, in regard to the exemption and freedom [from dues] with which your Lordship allowed the shipment of 9,000 pesos for the construction of two mills, and 2,500 pesos for the removal of the hundred families from Gallipolis, sets forth your situation, and the regret and sorrow which you feel at the responsibility for the 2,500 pesos which is laid on you by the said royal order, for having given money from the [fund of the] settlement bureau set aside for objects of this kind; and you conclude by asking to be released therefrom, so far as the 2,500 pesos are concerned, your Lordship binding yourself to be responsible for the 9,000. In view of this, His Majesty has deigned to accede to your Lordship's petition, and to release you from responsibility for the said 2,500 pesos; but this favor is not to serve as a precedent. The purport of his royal order, your Lordship will keep in mind for its understanding and fulfilment. God, etc. Aranjuez, April 26, 1794.

Addressed: "To the governor of Luisiana."

[Endorsed: "Aranjuez, April 26, 1794. No. 95. To the governor of Luisiana. He shall be released from the responsibility for the 2,500 pesos which he gave from the settlement bureau for the transportation of a hundred families, to which he was sentenced in an order of September 21 in the preceding year; with the rest which is stated."]

Letter; No. 17:]

Most Excellent Sir:

The official letter of the Baron de Carondelet, a copy of which accompanies this (No. 1), and the memorial of Don Bartholomé Tardiveau, certified by the commandant of Nuevo Madrid, Don Tomas Portell, which also I enclose (No. 2), will enable your Excellency to understand the reasons for which the said Tardiveau and Company have not been able to fulfil the obligations of their contract in regard to the establishment of two mills for the manufacture of flour, with the object of supplying the storehouse of His Majesty in these provinces.

As in the said contract, which my predecessor concluded in April of the past year, 1793, he advanced to the above-mentioned Company nine thousand pesos fuertes from this royal treasury, with the express condition that they must make the payment of five thousand in this year, and the remaining four thousand in the next year, 1795, I inquired from the governor the reason why this had not thus far been done; and in reference to it he has handed to me the above-mentioned documents, which fully explain the causes which have hindered them, and the reasons why the time-limit should be lengthened for them, since the workmen have been under arms to repel the incursions that were threatened at that time by our enemies against the king's establishments.

Your Excellency will be so kind as to examine these papers, and to make such decision as you deem suitable, informing me of what I ought to determine for the greater service of the king.

May God preserve your Excellency for many years. Most excellent Sir,

FRANCISCO RENDON.

Nueva Orleans, November 5, 1794.

Addressed: "To his Excellency Señor Don Diego de Gardoqui."

[Marginal note: "Encloses copy of an official letter from the governor, and memorial from Don Bartholomé Tardiveau certified by the commandant of Nuevo Madrid, Don Tomas Portell, which show the just causes which have prevented the said Tardiveau from fulfilling the first condition of the contract which he made with the royal treasury in regard to the establishment of two mills for making flour, and the payment of five thousand pesos which he was to make this year on account of the nine thousand that were advanced to him by the above-mentioned governor from this royal treasury."]

Letter; No. 1:]

The original document which with its translation accompanies this will explain to your Lordship the just causes on account of which Don Bartolomé Tardiveau and Company cannot fulfil their contract this year; and as the statement appears to me to be correct, on account of the attestation of the commandant, who had employed the carpenters on the works of the fort there for its defense from the attack which was feared from the French, no detriment should ensue from that to Tardiveau; and the delay for which he asks ought to be granted him, without withholding anything from him, as your Lordship yourself will acknowledge is right. May God keep your Lordship for many years.

THE BARON DE CARONDELET.

Nueva Orleans, October 31, 1794.

Addressed: "To Señor Don Francisco de Rendón." [13]

Memorial; No. 2:]

Señor Commandant:

Bartolomé Tardiveau, a resident at this post, whose name is signed below, with Messrs. Dehault de Lassus and Pedro Audrain made a contract in the month of April, 1793, with the governor of this province, by which he bound himself to construct, in the vicinity of Nuevo Madrid, as speedily as possible, a mill for the manufacture of superfine flour destined for the use of the government. On his return to Ilinoa, he made a contract with such carpenters and workmen as he was able to procure, to the number of eleven, to go there to work until the first of May following. He arrived at this post on December 11, with all his men, and immediately began the works; besides, on the fourteenth of August preceding he had made a contract with Jayme Rayan [*i. e.*, James Ryan?] for the construction of a causeway through the middle of the shallows [*estero*] of San Juan,[13] and a sawmill which was to be finished later, at the end of March, 1794. This work must necessarily precede the construction of the flour-mill, in view of the fact that all the pieces necessary for the latter must first be sawed in that mill. The object of this contract was to hasten the enterprise, by dividing it up among the various classes of workmen. While all these preparations were made here, Don Pedro Audrain, a partner of the petitioner, was busy in the United States in procuring and sending to him the best millstones of French make, with the wheels, sieves, and forks — in a word, all the ironwork, implements, and innumerable necessary articles for a sawmill and a flour-mill of the best construction. All these objects, Señor Commandant, are here in sight of your Grace. To push forward the works still further, and to make them as excellent as possible, the petitioner brought from Baltimore a second builder, who enjoyed the highest reputation among the people of his trade; and the petitioner has maintained this builder eight months on a salary, without being able to keep him busy, having engaged him on October 17, 1793.

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[13] Royal Intendant, and who afterward went to Mexico. There are many manuscript letters by him in the Sparks collection in Harvard University Library.

Eight or ten days after his arrival at this post, your Grace demanded from the petitioner all his workmen, in order to employ them on the works which your Grace was causing to be erected for the defense of the fort, because it was at that time threatened with an approaching invasion by an army which was styled "the Legion," in the service of the National Convention of France. The petitioner rendered obedience to this demand, as he should, without delay; and convinced of the wisdom and the necessity of the measures dictated to your Grace by the danger to which this settlement would have been exposed, he forgot his personal interests, no longer regarding anything save the public interest. He flatters himself that this will induce your Grace to give him, without hesitation, an attestation [regarding] his workmen, since they have been kept occupied in the service of the king all the time in which they had agreed to work for the petitioner, whose time-limit will expire on April 1 of the current year. His works, then, have remained suspended up to the present time, by circumstances of the greatest importance, to which every other ought to yield. The post at the present time enjoys somewhat more security, but the workmen engaged by the petitioner have gone away, in view of the impossibility of their working during the summer in the cypress swamps, on account of the mosquitoes with which they abound, and of the infected air which they exhale in that season. They will not return until next autumn, to undertake again the works for the petitioner. All that can be done in these circumstances, which have imperiously dominated his actions is to set to work meanwhile the few workmen who reside in this fort, to get ready part of the timber that will be needed for his building.

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[13] The bayou St. John or Chepousa river, which enters the river at New Madrid.

In consequence of the facts above stated, with which your Grace is perfectly acquainted, the petitioner ventures to expect from the justice which your Grace administers that you will have the goodness to attest the truth of all that is herein set forth, in order that the petitioner may with confidence solicit from the equitableness of the honorable Governor-General the extension of time which he hopes to obtain for the fulfilment of his contract.

BARTOLOMÉ TARDIVEAU.

Nuevo Madrid, June 19, 1794.

Don Tomas Portell, captain of the permanent regiment of infantry for Luisiana, and military and civil commandant of the post of Nuevo Madrid: I certify that, consistently with what Don Bartolomé Tardiveau solicits in this petition, it has not been possible for him to make even the least beginning on the mill which he had contracted to build in the vicinity of this town, for the reasons which he states in the said petition, although it is a fact that he has had millstones and other articles that are useful for the said mill brought here. And in order that this may be known wherever it will be desirable, I give this present at the petition of the above-mentioned Don Bartolomé Tardiveau, in Nuevo Madrid, on the nineteenth of June in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.

THOMAS PORTELL.

This is a translation from the original which goes with it, which I attest.

ANDRES LÓPEZ DE ARMESTO.

Nueva Orleans, October 31, 1794.

LETTER:]

With a memorial of November 5 of the preceeding year (No. 17) your Lordship includes a copy of an official letter from that governor, and a memorial from Don Bartolomé Tardiveau, setting forth the reasons which have hindered the said Tardiveau from fulfilling the first condition of the contract which, he says, he made with the royal treasury in regard to the establishment of two mills for manufacturing flour, and the payment of 5,000 pesos which he ought to meet in the next year, 1794, on account of the 9,000 which were advanced to him by the governor from the royal treasury there; and since the king has not approved the advance of money which the governor made without any orders, he has commanded me to notify your Lordship, as I am now doing, that his royal exchequer is not responsible in the Tardiveau affairs. This I make known to your Lordship, by his royal order, for your instruction and guidance. May God, etc.

Aranjuez, February 2, 1795.

Addressed: "To the Intendant of Luisiana."

[Endorsed: "Aranjuez, February 2, 1795. No. 17; to the Intendant of Luisiana. [States] that the royal exchequer is not responsible in regard to matters resulting from the contract which Don Bartolomé Tardiveau made for the establishment of two mills for the manufacture of flour; and disapproves the advance of funds which was made without orders by the governor at that time."]

Letter; No. 69:]

Most excellent Sir:

I have delivered to the governor here the royal order which your Excellency communicated to me under date of February 2, last, relative to the contract by Don Bartolomé Tardiveau for the erection of two mills on the upper part of this river for the manufacture of flour, in which affairs His Majesty does not wish the exchequer to be responsible. His answer to me is what your Excellency will see by the annexed copy of his official letter.

In order to do this official justice, I must explain to your Excellenency that I find a substantial basis for the reasons which induced him to make the said contract, [regarding it] as one of the most suitable means for furnishing the inhabitants here with their principal article of food, and fulfilling in the most essential point the charge which was laid upon him by the royal order which he cites, to maintain great vigilance in his relations with the Americans, from whom some invasion was feared at the time.

By the knowledge of local conditions which I have gained, I am fully convinced that in the critical circumstances in which these domains of the king have been (and from which they are not even yet exempt), threatened with many enemies, within and without, their preservation would have been exceedingly difficult for any other governor [who might be] less alert, watchful, cautious, and zealous than Baron de Carondelet is well known to be; moreover, that at all times the establishment of the said mills will be of obvious utility — not only for freeing the country from the dependence to which without them it would always be subject, compelled to have recourse for its chief food-supply to our rivals, but also in saving a great part of the expense which is occasioned by obtaining it from them.

In view of these facts, most excellent sir, and of the said contract being so substantially guaranteed that the exchequer runs no risk — since in any case the obligation will be satisfied by the guarantor, who is thoroughly safe, for the advance made to Tardiveau and his associates (who are working with energy to fulfil their agreement, which unforeseen and irremediable accidents prevented in the year preceding) — I cannot avoid urgently requesting your Excellency to be pleased to influence His Majesty to approve the enterprise, as being very advantageous to his greater service, the comfort of the habitants here, and the protection of the country. These are the only objects which that governor had in making the contract; and his acknowledged carefulness in the most exact fulfilment of his duties, and his assured integrity, certainly render him deserving of the consideration of the sovereign, whom he serves with as much devotion as disinterestedness. May God preserve your Excellency for many years.

Francisco Rendon.

Nueva Orleans, September 1, 1795.

Addressed: "To His Excellency Don Diego de Gardoqui."

[Marginal note: "Accompanied by a copy of an official letter sent to him by the governor Baron de Carondelet, explaining the motives which he had in making the contract with Don Bartholomé Tardiveau and his associates for the establishment of two mills for making flour. He supports his arguments; asserts that the king runs no risk from the advance made by the royal treasury, on account of the security furnished by the guarantor; and entreats that His Majesty will approve the contract, not only for the manifest advantage that will ensue to the country, but because the above-mentioned governor deserves the said consideration on account of his zeal, activity, and good intentions."]

Letter:]

The king, being informed by your Lordship's letter of September 1, last (No. 69), of the answer made by the governor there to the royal order of February 2, preceding, in which His Majesty was pleased to disapprove the advance of funds which the governor made for the establishment of two mills for manufacturing flour; and, nevertheless, it is believed that he had no wrong intention in the contract drawn up with Tardiveau — although his conduct is still disapproved in having allowed the shipment of money for another country free from dues, without having consulted [his superiors] about it — [orders that] the amount loaned be exacted, if the said governor does not make it good, although on account of other considerations the settlement ought to be prosecuted. I notify your Lordship of this, by order of the king, for your instruction and the fulfilment of your charge. May God keep, etcetera.

Aranjuez, April 7, 1796.

[Endorsed: "No. 69; To the Intendant of Luisiana. The conduct of the governor there in the contract which he made with Tardiveau being disapproved, the amount of the loan shall be exacted from him, although on account of other considerations the establishment ought to be prosecuted."]

Letter:]

Answering the communication of your Lordship dated the 17th inst., by which you deliver to me a royal order dated on February 2, last (which was communicated to you by his Excellency Don Diego de Gardoqui), to the effect that the royal exchequer is not responsible for the results of the contract which Don Bartholomé Tardiveau and his associates made for the establishment of two flour-mills in these provinces, I ask [permission] to explain some ideas which occur to me in especial; and I will state the following:

Early in the year 1793, the Chevaliers de Lassus, Tardiveau, and Audrain came before me with the propositions which are evident from the cited contract — to which I refer, in order to explain in brief the motives which constrained me to close the contract.

These provinces being threatened by an invasion on the part of the United States and Kentucky, where there was an army commanded by General Wayne — whose operations against Luisiana could be directed with as much swiftness as secrecy by the aid of the currents of the Ohio and the Misisipi — and I having the confidential order which was communicated to me by his Excellency Conde de Florida-Blanca, to maintain great watchfulness with those people, the following reflections immediately presented themselves to me:

First: That in case of a rupture these provinces would immediately find themselves debarred not only from the flour that usually is sent down the Ohio, but from that which comes from the ports of the North of America; consequently we would have no other resource than to procure flour from Vera Cruz — which in that case would suffer considerable difficulty with the supply for the island of Cuba; and perhaps it would even be impossible to procure supplies of flour at the exorbitant price at which it was sold during the preceding war.

In the second place, I considered that, España being threatened by an imminent rupture with France (as was actually the case at that time in Europe), it would probably be a matter of exceeding difficulty to maintain commercial intercourse, which might even be entirely cut off, between America of the North and Luisiana — which would reduce this province to the greatest scarcity and even total destitution of flour, in case the United States should avail themselves of that opportunity to enforce by arms their claims to the passage by way of the Misisipi.

In the third place, the flattering and advantageous prospect presented itself to me of attracting to Luisiana the population of an entire town (that of Gallipolis) from the American territory, and in their train a considerable part of the French royalist emigrants, in case that España should maintain friendly relations with France; and these people, bringing with them the arts and the mode of tilling the soil which belong to Europe, and many other kinds of knowledge would naturally make of Luisiana one of the most flourishing colonies of España.

Fourth: the great advantage which would result to Luisiana from being able to furnish its own supplies, and the profit which would at the same time ensue to the royal treasury from the yearly saving of some hundred and twenty thousand pesos which it costs for the flour, somewhat more than twelve thousand barrels, which is furnished to it by the United States, our natural enemies.

Fifth: The promotion of settlement and agriculture; the urgent necessity of availing myself of all possible means of maintaining in Luisiana an abundance of provisions, and in this way of depriving our internal enemies of all apparent pretext for complaint, and of every sort of occasion for inciting the people to an insurrection.

Last of all, [I considered] the freedom from risk and encumbrance which the royal treasury would have in a loan of nine thousand pesos which was requested from me by the parties interested, under the best possible guarantee, the safety of which is perfectly evident to your Lordship; the advantage which would result to the royal exchequer from supplying the king's storehouses at the price of eight pesos a barrel; the repeated precedents which I had before my eyes for loans which were much more extensive, and for purposes much less useful and urgent — as the construction of embankments, equipments, the purchase of negroes, [grants] to the habitants of Natchitoches; and the immense and useless advances which have been made for the settlements of Nueva Iberia, Galveztown, and Feliciana.

Everything persuaded me, then, that I could not and ought not without failing in the first duty of every good vassal — for I considered myself under obligation to promote whatever tended to the improvement of the royal revenues, and consequently settlement and agriculture in regions almost a wilderness — lose an opportunity which presented to me evident advantages, and without the least risk. I closed that contract, and I have not the least doubt that your Lordship would have done the same thing in similar circumstances, convinced as I am of the zeal which your Lordship has made evident in the short time which you have spent in these provinces, so difficult of administration — placing the greater service of the king, and the welfare of his vassals, before your own private advantage.

It is a fact that I concluded that contract before consulting the court about it; but to your Lordship, who knows the local conditions and the parties interested, and consequently can take the circumstances into consideration, I put the question whether it were then possible to defer for at least six or eight months, the time which would be necessary for receiving the royal approbation, the conclusion of an affair which depended on the political circumstances of that day, and on two persons (Tardiveau and Audrain), who had lived for many years in the territory of the United States.

The hazards of war; the expedition projected by the French for attacking Luisiana by way of the Ohio; the opposition and hindrances which the Kentuckians have caused to arise in order to prevent the accomplishment of a project which aimed to "free Luisiana from its dependent condition in regard to the supply of flour," as their newspapers frankly styled it — all these have postponed the execution of this plan; but your Lordship is not ignorant that throughout this year the mill at Nueva Madrid continued to grind and that it will furnish to the king, in the coming year, three thousand barrels, the value of which, at the rate of eight pesos, amounts to 24,000, which is three times the value of the loan that was made.

If His Majesty does not approve these fresh arguments — the certitude of which I hope that your Lordship will do me the favor to impress upon the honorable minister, more forcibly and convincingly than I have the ability to do — I will from my own inadequate salary pay for the effects of my zeal and love for the royal service. For in justice the parties concerned ought not to suffer injury, who have made a contract in good faith, and supposing that a governor-intendant equipped with an order from His Majesty which authorized him to form a decision in cases which did not allow an opportunity for consultation could not be censured for a transaction involving so small an amount. May God our Lord preserve your Lordship for many years.

THE BARON DE CARONDELET.

Nueva Orleans, August 27, 1795.

Addressed: "To Señor Don Francisco Rendon."

Letter; No. 19:]

In answer to the royal order of April 7, last, in which your Excellency is pleased to communicate to my predecessor that, notwithstanding the explanations by this governor in regard to the contract which he made with Don Bartolomé Tardiveau and his associates for the establishment of two flour-mills, he must make good to the royal treasury the sum advanced, I notify your Excellency that the guarantor, Don Juan Bautista Sarpy, satisfied that claim as long ago as March 31 of the present year.

May God preserve your Excellency for many years.

JUAN VENTURA MORALES.

Nueva Orleans, July 20, 1796.

[Addressed: "To His Excellency Don Diego de Gardoqui."]

[Marginal note: "In answer to the royal order of April 7, of this year, he informs us that Don Juan Bautista Sarpy has made good to the royal treasury the advance made to Don Bartolomé Tardiveau and his associates for the establishment of flour-mills, as being guarantor for those parties."]

[14] In connection with the attempt to establish flour mills in the Spanish Upper Louisiana, the following, taken from Thomas Hutchins' Topographical Description (London, 1778), pp. 17, 18, note, is interesting:

"It may not, perhaps, be amiss, to observe, that large quantities of Flour are made in the distant (*western*) Counties of Pennsylvania, and sent by an expensive Land Carriage to the City of Philadelphia, and from thence shipped to South Carolina, and to East and West Florida, there being little, or no wheat raised in these Provinces. The *River* Ohio seems kindly designed by nature, as the Channel through which the two *Floridas* may be supplied with Flour, not only for their own Consumption, but also for the carrying on an extensive Commerce with Jamaica and the Spanish Settlements in the Bay of Mexico. Millstones in abundance are to be obtained in the Hills near the Ohio, and the country is every where well watered with large, and constant Springs and Streams, for Grist, and other Mills.

"The passage from Philadelphia to Pennsacola, is seldom made in less than a Month, and sixty shillings sterling per *ton*, freight (consisting of sixteen barrels) is usually paid for flour, etc., thither. Boats carrying 800, or 1,000 barrels of Flour, may go in about the same time from the Ohio, (even from *Pittsburgh*) as from Philadelphia to Pennsacola, and for half the above freight, the Ohio Merchants would be able to deliver Flour, etc., there,in much better order than from Philadelphia, and without incurring the damage and delay of the sea, and charges of insurance, etc., as far from thence to Pennsacola.

"This is not mere Speculation; for it is a fact, that about the year 1746 there was a great scarcity of provisions at New Orleans, and the French Settlements, at the Illinois, small as they then were, sent thither in one winter, upwards of eight hundred thousand weight of Flour."

LXVIII

FORTS ON THE MISSISSIPPI BELOW NEW MADRID — 1793

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Documents from the Island of Cuba.

I have already informed your Lordship of the return to this post of Captain Don Pedro Rousseau, and I herewith transmit in addition, the diary of his journey which he gave me, accompanied by a map of the river from this post to Nuevo Madrid, a second of the said post of Nuevo Madrid, and a third of the Barrancas de Margó between the rivers Carondelet and Las Casas, since the part of the river between the said heights is of great importance.[1]

By the said diary your Excellency will be informed of the exactness and diligence shown by this officer, and of all the details of his experience.

That he might more perfectly fulfil the orders which I gave him to ascertain whether there were any settlements made by Americans on the banks of this river to the north of Nogales as your Lordship had informed him, he always sailed by day, as is made evident both by his diary and by the exact map of his voyage which he has made. He has ascertained that there are no other settlements from here to Nuevo Madrid, besides those which are in the dominions of His Majesty, and of which your Lordship has full information.

In addition to the statements of the diary I will add the verbal report which Don Pedro Rousseau has given me with reference to the Barrancas de Margó.

The Barrancas de Margó rise in front of the island of El Diamante at the mouth of the river Carondelet. By sailing along the bank two leagues to the north one comes upon the river Las Casas. These rivers had no name, and are those which are commonly known indiscriminately as the rivers Des Ecors á Margó.

At the mouth of the river Las Casas on the southern bank there is a little level space which is not being eaten away, and upon which it would be possible to erect a battery in a very advantageous situation to command the entrance to the river Las Casas and the navigation of the Misisipi. It could direct its fire over an arc of 120 degrees. The said level space is commanded by a highland which is properly called the Las Barrancas de Margó. They are here about fifty feet in height, and the access from the side of the Las Casas river is easy. At the summit there is a level spot about six hundred feet square which commands the vicinity on all sides.

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[1] It is usually considered that this refers to Wolf river and another smaller stream near the present Memphis, but the description more probably refers to the Big Hatchee and Obion or Forked Deer. At the mouth of the Big Hatchee, Fort Pillow was erected during the late war between the States.

The river Las Casas pierces the range or row of hills known as the said Barrancas de Margó, cutting across the country up almost to the river Tennessee, on the waters of which it would be possible to establish a profitable route of navigation, even by the headwaters of the river Movila to its mouth.

Now this point at the Barrancas de Margó is the most advantageously situated, not only because it would be able to protect and command the navigation of the Misisipi, but also because it will control that of the rivers Las Casas and Carondelet.

The region, which is known as the Barrancas de Margó is a highland running from north to south, and by following the sinuosities (*sonocidades*) it can be seen over the bank at four different points on the river. The first is that which has been explained, the second more to the north is called the Barranca del Medio, the third the Barrancas de Pedomo, and the last the Barrancas de Arina. They all extend in a northerly and southerly line for a distance of about ten leagues; but by the river, following its turns, the distance from the first to the last barrancas is more than twenty leagues. According to the report of Don Pedro Rousseau none of the other three points of the Barranca which can be seen from the river are as suitable for the military post as the one which is found between the rivers Carondelet and Las Casas, not only as respects the defense of the river, but also as respects that of the post itself, for it is flanked on three sides by the waters of the three said rivers, and on the rear it may easily be defended since it commands all the neighborhood.

From Nogales to Nuevo Madrid there is no other place on the eastern bank of the river suitable to establish a fort except at the Barrancas de Margó; and accordingly on the map and in the reports of Don Pedro Rousseau this is the point which has been indicated. But if in addition to this it should be to the advantage and pleasure of His Majesty to occupy another point of almost equal importance, I can do no less than indicate here the situation called *Costa de Fierro*, in English, Iron Banks, which is situated about two-thirds of the way from Nuevo Madrid to the mouth of the Ohio.

According to the unofficial information which I have, the point is stronger so far as its local situation goes than the one recommended on the Barrancas de Margó. But in spite of this if only one is to be occupied it ought to be the one referred to on the Barrancas de Margó, for this one unites a combination of advantages and presents less political difficulties than the other.

For all other points I refer to the diary.

I am unable to pass over in silence the credit which I regard as due the making of the map of the river. It is wonderful that in so few days as were taken by his voyage from Nuevo Madrid to this post, Don Pedro Rousseau should have marked out the directions and distances so accurately that they agreed with the observed latitudes and longitudes. I am perfectly certain that the work is entirely his own without his having been guided by any model, for there is none in existence with the details with which he has made his map. I have examined it and compared it with the information and rough sketches which I have seen, and find it extremely exact excepting in the location of the river Yazu. This point is inaccurate because the mouth of this stream is not seen from the Misisipi according to the present flow of the river, for having made a cut across the neck of a great curve which used to be opposite the Yazu, it carries by the said cut the whole volume of the waters of the Misisipi; and that which used to be a curve now forms a large island which conceals the entrance of the Yazu. But this error was caused by a mist which made it difficult for Don Pedro Rousseau to examine this part of the river, and he took the opening which could be seen between the island and the main land for the mouth of the Yazu, which it is not, but only a passageway to it.

Don Pedro Rousseau, in my opinion, deserves special credit for his fulfilment of his commission. I can do no less than call it to your Lordship's attention, so that by adding this to the other considerations which recommend him, you may be pleased to make use of them all for the benefit of his promotion.

God protect your Lordship many years.

Natchez, April 4, 1793.

MANUEL GAYOSO DE LEMOS.

Addressed: "His Lordship the Baron de Carondelet."

LXIX

LETTER OF CARONDELET IN REGARD TO FORMATION OF AMERICAN SETTLEMENT ON MISSISSIPPI BELOW NEW MADRID — 1793

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Index of the secret letters remitted on this date by the Colonel of the royal armies, Baron de Carondelet, Governor-Intendant of the Provinces of Luisiana and West Florida to his Excellency, the Duke of Alcudia, the first Secretary of State, and of its universal office.

Synopsis:]

He sends a report from the Commandant of Nuevo Madrid, by which is seen the preparations that the Americans of the State of Cumberland are making to bribe the Chicachas Indians and separate them from our friendship. As he is unable to oppose this design by real force, in the present critical circumstances, he shows by means of documents, the measures which he has taken to divert those restless neighbors.

Letter from Carondelet:]

No. 9. Secret.

Your Excellency:

By the contents of the official communication which accompanies No. 1, of the Commandant of the post of Nuevo Madrid, located twelve leagues below the mouth of the Ohio, your Excellency will understand in its entirety the design signified by the United States of forming a settlement fifty leagues below at Las Barrancas de Margot, making use therefor of the pretext of aiding the Chicachá tribe against the Criks. The fatal consequences of such a post, which would give them a port advantageously situated upon the Misisipi, are inferred from secret correspondence No. 26, which was sent to his Excellency, the Count of Aranda. These same motives have incited me to prevent them by occupying the above-mentioned Barrancas, which would surely have been done, since the squadron of galleys, laden with all that was necessary for that purpose, was ready to leave Natchez for that secret expedition, when I received a copy of your Excellency's order, dated February 12, last, commanding me to prepare for war against France. That rendered it necessary for me to order the galleys to descend the river for they are so much more indispensable for the defense of the entrance to the Misisipi River. I have learned that several subjects have left the Province for France for the purpose of proposing [the fortification of] Las Barrancas. That cannot be avoided [by us] under any circumstances, in consideration of the fact that the Misisipi forms a whirlpool at that place, which renders it necessary for the boats to pass within pistol-shot of the space dominated by the river, in which the fort would be located.

May God, our Lord, preserve your Excellency many years. Nueva Orleans, May 24, 1793. Your Excellency.

Baron de Carondelet (rubric).

Addressed: "His Excellency, the Duke de la Alcudia."